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The Shape of Things

DEAN ACHESON'S STATEMENT ON FOOD AND armies has a plausibility about it which will appeal to persons who think of relief in terms of politics. What sounds more reasonable than an argument that we should cease supplying the human needs of nations that are impoverishing their people in order to maintain vast armies? The catch is that it injects a threat of unilateral intervention into a debate on disarmament which, during the last few weeks, has made significant progress. The United States happens to be the one nation with a large surplus of food and, at the same time, preponderant military resources. It has consistently urged that arms reduction and arms control must come under international direction. Now, it appears that nations judged by us to have inordinately large armies must cut these to the bone if they are to receive food from the one nation capable of supplying it. Moreover, Secretary Acheson's ultimatum comes as a culminating move in a series of point-blank refusals to continue the work of UNRRA, today more desperately needed than ever. Mr. LaGuardia, who surely cannot be accused of sympathy with totalitarian regimes, has made a moving protest against the State Department's punitive conception of one of the Four Freedoms. His words should be heeded. We suggest that Mr. Acheson leave the armaments discussion to the General Assembly and Security Council, where it properly belongs. And we direct a last, urgent plea to the State Department that it consider the plight of the starving men, women, and children of Europe and revise its stand in favor of Mr. LaGuardia's original proposal for an emergency fund of $400,000,000 to be placed at the disposal of the United Nations.

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JOHN L. LEWIS VAINLY ATTEMPTED TO MAKE his back-to-work order sound like a strategic retreat; it was, in fact, as James Wechsler makes clear on page 683, unconditional surrender. Sure of his own strength, contemptuous of the Administration, Lewis challenged the government and found himself maneuvered into fighting on the issue of the sovereignty of the state. That is an indefensible position for any sectional group, and defeat became inevitable unless the President lost his nerve. He didn't: on the contrary, having gained the initiative in the court phase of the struggle, the Administration indicated its readiness to counterattack at all points. And, despite bitter criticisms by labor of the use of the injunction, Mr. Truman appeared to have most of public opinion behind him. What can Lewis do now? He has set March 31 as the day for renewal of the struggle, but unless the courts uphold his claim of the right to terminate unilaterally the contract between the United Mine Workers and the government, his position then will be weaker, not stronger. His one hope is to negotiate an agreement with the operators, but they will not prove easier to deal with than before the strike and may well stall in view of the prospect of stringent anti-labor legislation in the next session of Congress. Lewis, in fact, has committed the classic blunder of dictators: through overconfidence he has exposed himself to a concentration of superior forces and suffered a defeat which may prove disastrous not only to the miners but to all labor.

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TWO OF THE PROFESSED OBJECTS OF THE German merger agreement are to lighten the burden of occupation costs and to stimulate the economy of western Germany by removing barriers to the flow of goods. The third Anglo-American object is admittedly to counter the Russian policy now being followed in eastern Germany: if the Soviets continue to hinder the unification of the German economy while organizing industry in the east according to their own needs, then Britain and the United States will incorporate their sections of Germany into the Western economic system. The Russians are invited to join us, but if and when they do so they also will meet an accomplished fact. It would be unreasonable to deny all justification for the Anglo-American merger, since the western zones, after more than eighteen months of delay in making effective the economic clauses of the Potsdam Agreement, have sunk to a dangerous level of destitution. Unless their inhabitants are to subsist indefinitely on doles from the American and British treasuries, industry must be sufficiently revived to enable payment to be made in goods for the necessary minimum

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of imports. The question is whether such a revival will require an increase in production above the level previously sanctioned by the Big Four. If it does, we can expect violent protests from Russia and France, both of which fear the restoration of the German war potential under Anglo-American auspices.

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THE BEST WAY TO PREVENT THE GROWTH of such suspicions would be to expedite British proposals for socializing the major German industries and to give new life to the accepted principles of denazification and economic decentralization. So far, unfortunately, all plans for basic economic reform in the American and British zones appear to have bogged down: Washington and London issue directives, but the men on the spot ignore or circumvent them. The Meader report has pointed to Brigadier General Draper, chief of the American economic staff in Germany, as one of the leading opponents of decartelization. In Britain, there are constant complaints about the difficulty of getting the occupation authorities to tackle seriously such matters as socialization and the revival of trade unionism. And, in both zones, denazification appears to have proceeded on haphazard lines, with many industrial bigwigs receiving undeserved clearance. For instance, Alfred Hugenberg, the old Nationalist leader who gave powerful support to Hitler, is not only free but still nominally head of his big coal and steel combine. There is no very good reason to suppose that the merger of the zones will lead to a change in this situation. On the contrary, there is grave danger that the Anglo-American economic staff, composed for the most part of men antipathetic to socialism, will concentrate on the "practical" job of reviving industry and exports and neglect the even more important task of institutional reform. The result would be doubly evil. It would arouse the intense antagonism of Russia and France; it would tend to thrust Germany into a new Weimar cycle with all its frustrations and incentives to desperate action.

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THE APPOINTMENT OF AN AMBASSADOR IS not often accompanied by an obviously inspired press campaign designed to show that he holds opinions the exact opposite of those held by the government with which he is to deal. But such has been the case with O. Max Gardner. That the new ambassador to the Court of St. James's is an able man we knew without being told by complacent journalists. We are also aware that Mr. Gardner has been one of the most stubborn opponents of the progressive reforms inaugurated by President Roosevelt, to whom the new ambassador gave the grudging loyalty of a Democratic Party machine politician. It is to be expected that the British and American peoples will derive some profit from Mr. Gardner's knowledge

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of orthodox finance and his skill in business negotiations. We hope, too, that the British government will enjoy his pleasant Southern accent and courtliness. It is also our hope that when Mr. Gardner displays his talents as a crusading free-enterpriser he will be met with a certain dour skepticism expressed in a good Scotch burr or homely west-of-England drawl.

*

THAT'S A HANDSOME CHRISTMAS PRESENT which the Interstate Commerce Commission has handed to the railroads and charged to Mr. and Mrs. Consumer. A cool billion dollars in added freight charges and indefinite continuation of the "temporary" 10 per cent passenger-fare increase granted in February, 1942, offer prospects of a very happy New Year to the recipients. For the rest of us, it means another upward thrust of the cost of living, a new twist to the inflationary spiral. One consequence is that, although the miners have gone back to work without any pay increase, there will be a 15 or 20 cent increase in the price of a ton of coal. The railroads could hardly have expected more generous treatment, but they are not manifesting much gratitude. The increase, some of their spokesmen have indicated, is only just about sufficient to make possible a modest profit for the Class I roads as a whole next year. Operating costs, they point out, have risen by $2,166,000,000 since 1939, with pay increases alone accounting for $1,457,000,000. They omit to mention, however, that estimated gross revenues this year are about double those of 1939 and that the railroads' net income, even if we accept their own pessimistic forecast, is likely to be well above the pre-war level.

Small-State Revolt

THE unavowed intentions with regard to Spain that have involved London and Washington in so many glaring inconsistencies have had their familiar results at Lake Success during the past week. The American resolution presented by Senator Connally contained a double invitation: it urged Franco to surrender his power to an interim regime that would hold a free election, and invited the Spanish people to "establish the eligibility of Spain for admission to the United Nations." Yet in the course of debate upon amendments to this resolution, the old arguments were brought out: that it would be a violation of sovereignty to "intervene" in Spain and that civil war was the one great evil to avoid. In other words, we nominally threaten Franco with a revolution that we declare must never take place and shall do nothing to help. The inconsistency is purely verbal, of course, for the underlying meaning of the resolution is unmistakably clear: it was an invitation, not to the Spanish people, but to cliques and cabals within the reactionary classes—to the "strong" and the "influential men" in Spain, as Senator Connally put it.

It is to be expected that the charge of conspiracy with palace revolutionists and military putschists will receive official denial. Yet nothing else can explain the inconsistencies, the endless equivocations, of the American delegate which were pointedly brought to the attention of the State Department and the delegates in a letter from the Nation Associates to Secretary Byrnes. And denial is further robbed of its force by too much in the sordid history of our political intervention in Europe—the courting of Vichy, Darlan, Badoglio, and the House of Savoy, and the disastrous maneuvers in Greece.

It is useless to say that the melancholy spectacle presented by Senator Connally and Sir Hartley Shawcross at Lake Success is merely the result of an inherited policy. True, before he quit office, Mr. Churchill had begun to negotiate with the Duke of Alba and his cabal for a restoration of the Spanish monarchy. But the failure of that effort would have given a truly democratic successor the right to abandon the policy. Nevertheless, Mr. Bevin, while professing to abstain from intervention, has merely added a few variants and decorations. At the recent Bournemouth Conference of the Labor Party, he made a blundering confession. "I believe that if other countries had not intervened in the internal affairs of Spain, Franco would have been gone," the British Foreign Secretary said, evidently referring to Russia and other states with similar views. A moment later, he added: "And, therefore, I believe that the steps we are taking . . . which, for obvious reasons I am not going into here, and the policy we are following are right." He was against steps, but he had taken steps. The Spanish people did not want war, "but if left alone there are wide classes in Spain anxious to get rid of Franco." Presumably these "wide classes" are the reactionaries with whom Mr. Bevin was negotiating in the summer of this year.

For once, a United Nations subcommittee, to which the various amendments were referred, contained a majority of pro-Republican delegates. The result has been something of a revelation, for the Big Two have had few lieutenants and less control of strategy, and their speeches have been countered by others of exceptional quality. In particular, the delegates of Guatemala, Venezuela, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Norway presented fully documented and rigorously logical answers to Mr. Connally's stump speeches. In fact, so formidable has been the opposition that Senator Connally seriously embarrassed his colleagues by declaring that even if the United Nations decided upon a rupture of relations with Spain, the U. S. would not consider itself bound by the decision.

As we go to press, the subcommittee has agreed upon an amended resolution urging the United Nations, which have collectively refused to maintain relations with

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Franco, individually to sever relations, and also to end imports of food from Spain. What will be the fate of this resolution in the full committee it is impossible to say, but it is difficult to believe that the Connally version can be forced through by Anglo-American insistence; and it must not be. For, to revert to its central point, the resolution would justify the taking of a plebiscite by an undesignated group and without guaranties. It is not likely that the dictator will abolish the Falange or neutralize the army and his repressive forces, without which measures an election would be a farce and a tragedy. Senator Connally's resolution could easily serve at a later date as legal justification for the recognition of a regime lacking all democratic guaranties, a regime that would condemn Spain to endless and costly turbulence. But if the outraged small states maintain their resistance, the British and Americans will have to back down.

Time to Act on China

A DECISION must be made soon on American policy in China. A year ago, President Truman issued a detailed statement of policy in which he made continued American aid conditional upon the "modification of the one-party 'political tutelage' " and the creation of a "broadly representative government." The opening of the unrepresentative National Assembly a few weeks ago marked the final breakdown of General Marshall's efforts to achieve the aims outlined in the President's statement. As the Assembly continues its sessions, the situation grows steadily worse. Instead of adopting the reasonably democratic draft constitution that had been worked out at the All-Party Political Consultative Conference last spring, the hand-picked Assembly has apparently decided to return to the totalitarian pre-war draft. Acceptance of this would so crystallize the Chinese government in a totalitarian mold as to make any future democratic settlement almost impossible. It would mean that war-weary China was doomed to the agony of a protracted civil war which could only end in exhaustion and even more complete economic collapse, carrying with it the added danger of a general world conflict.

The determination of the right-wing Kuomintang leaders to retain their dictatorial control of the government appears to spring from a conviction that they will continue to get American aid irrespective of their behavior. This conviction has been nurtured by the steady and substantial flow of American goods during the past few months, when it was obvious that General Marshall's efforts were proving unsuccessful. The reactionary wing of the Kuomintang has taken this as evidence that in a showdown the United States would support the government against the Communists in order to keep China in the "democratic" orbit as a bulwark against Soviet Russia. And statements by irresponsible American military leaders have encouraged them in that belief.

Within the last week or so there have been indications that we are trying to extricate ourselves from what every American agrees is an intolerable situation. The number of marines in China is being gradually reduced. Reports have been published, without confirmation, that China would get no further financial assistance at this time. And John Carter Vincent, director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs of the Department of State, has warned private capital against investing in China under present conditions. But as huge amounts of American excess war materials are in the process of being turned over to the Nanking regime and American officers are still cooperating with the Kuomintang general staff, these indications of a gradual shift in policy mean very little. The Kuomintang reactionaries cannot be blamed for believing that with existing American aid they can crush the Communists in five or six months. Only immediate dramatic action on the part of the United States can shake this belief and stop the drift toward catastrophe.

Another official statement of policy is clearly called for. As a minimum, in order to make it clear even to the irreconcilable diehards that we want no part in China's strife, the President should announce immediate and complete withdrawal of American military forces in China and order the present flow of financial and military aid to be stopped completely, with no further assistance given until the terms of the directive of December 15, 1945, are carried out.

Molotov's Olive Branch

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

WITH the effect of brushing off cobwebs, Mr. Molotov last week swept away half a dozen issues which for long months have served as concrete roadblocks in the way of international agreement. In the Council of Foreign Ministers, the peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland were all but finished; the points remaining unsettled are so small compared with those cleared up that further prolonged wrangling is most unlikely. In the General Assembly, Russia accepted the principle of international inspection and enforcement—without benefit of veto—once a system of atomic-energy control and general disarmament has been agreed upon by the Security Council. So suddenly did these things happen that incredulity rather than satisfaction was the first reaction in the press. But doubt has tended to disappear as Molotov's mild replies to the provocative comments of Connally and Shawcross have been reinforced by one specific concession after another.

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What remains in the minds of observers seems to be a vast bewilderment over Russia's probable reasons for "coming around." The view most generally expressed is that American firmness has at last accomplished its purpose, but a few people who know Russia well are insisting that firmness by itself would have got nowhere if Molotov had not sensed behind it a will to peace rather than a threat. If this is a true explanation of Moscow's conciliatory attitude, then the new Russian policy is even more encouraging: in other words, it represents confidence rather than appeasement.

Not to be ignored as part of the story are Russia's and Eastern Europe's material needs. Acceptance of the principle of free trade and navigation on the Danube, for example, may be a small sacrifice to make in return for larger imports of necessary supplies to that area, especially if UNRRA contributions are cut off and no substitute relief system set up. And so with other concessions, notably the Trieste agreement. Right or wrong, Russian objections to the safeguards demanded by the Western powers in the statute for Trieste have been an obstacle not only to establishing the Free Territory itself but to a whole complex of arrangements essential in restoring the economic life of Italy and Eastern Europe. The long stalemate has meant chaos and hunger and political tension, the sort of death-in-life described last week by G. E. R. Gedye in his article on Austria. It is no disparagement to the Russians to suggest that the new policy reflects, in part, a realization of the need for a revival of trade within Eastern Europe and with the West—plus credits if any are available. If Russia has given up any legitimate social objectives to get this result, such as a planned economic development of the Danube area geared into its own economy, the sacrifice may be more theoretical than real. At this stage, bare survival is the problem rather than schemes of economic coordination. Those can wait, for whatever Russia may yield in matters of trade or international control, the tides are running strong against Western capitalist ideas; and America is far away; and Russia is near.

One interesting line of speculation has been set off by Moscow's disarmament proposals. If all weapons of wholesale destruction are outlawed along with the atomic bomb and the veto is eliminated as "irrelevant" to the job of punishing violations, Mr. Molotov has perhaps calculated that, in the end, the balance of advantage will be with his country. This possibility was analyzed the other night by Raymond Swing, who said:

> People who have figured that the Russians were opposing our plans because they could not afford to have foreigners inspecting behind their so-called iron curtain may not have realized the basic facts of the problem. Russian strength lies chiefly in man-power, which cannot be reduced. Our strength lies in our war equipment, which can. Thus we have a navy, now fully twice as large as any navy that could be brought together to oppose it. We have a great strategic air force. We are on the way to develop the long-range rocket, with the best German scientists and engineers giving us the fruit of their invention. And we have atomic energy, which we shall continue to make even if it is not for use in atomic bombs. So inspection will have a wide field in this country, which may be one reason why the Russians favor it.

Not only will inspection have a wide field, but our mechanized power cannot be quickly reconstructed once it is reduced or scrapped. Russian military power, consisting largely of a huge army, less highly mechanized, can be reduced to nothing and then reassembled, in case of need, with relative ease. One can see hard reasons why Molotov advocated a broad scheme of disarmament and the elimination of the veto over enforcement.

For pointing out this aspect of the Russian proposals, Mr. Swing was attacked by Arthur Krock in a column in the New York *Times* that was both underhanded and, in my opinion, libelous. Krock did not mention Swing by name but merely quoted several sentences from his broadcast and then charged him with speaking, in effect, as a Moscow stooge. The broadcast suggested, it is true, that the United States might find itself "caught in a kind of trap" if for some political reason we should want to go slow on disarmament. We have talked so much about the veto that any further effort to stall in the matter of arms control would open us to the charge of "maintaining our military power solely to exert our will in the world." In saying this, Mr. Swing was only stating a patent truth. No one can doubt that some of our military men will be reluctant to extend to all forms of armed power the restrictions which sheer self-preservation dictates in the case of the atom bomb. Mr. Swing concludes with the urgent hope that, now the veto hurdle has been removed, "we shall be able to interest the Russians in our atomic plan, to set up a world authority to which is assigned the entire mining and production of atomic energy. For our experts have come to the conclusion that only such a plan will in any way adequately bring safety to the world in the use of atomic energy. Having such an authority, the great scientists will themselves be the chief inspectors, and atomic energy can become a servant of peaceful industry. No elaborate inspection system to prevent the illicit manufacture of atomic bombs seems to meet the requirements. This still may be a theme that the Russians need to have made clear to them. If it is, and they accept it, then despite the toughness of negotiations, this weary and woebegone world might still be steered into the channels of peace." If these are the words of an agent of Moscow, I wish Mr. Krock would sign up with the Kremlin, too.

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Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

The Issue Is Sovereignty

Lake Success, December 7

EVERY subject the U. N. Assembly touches on—Spain, disarmament, the treatment of Indians in South Africa—sooner or later brings about a discussion of the fundamental issue of our time: the need to adapt the traditional concept of national sovereignty to the realities of modern international society. Where are we going to draw the line between matters of solely domestic concern and matters of concern to the entire community of nations? Is the production of armaments within a country a proper subject for international inquiry, inspection, and control? If it is, should not political regimes bent on producing armaments and using them for aggressive purposes also be subject to inquiry by other nations? Is racial discrimination to be blinked at by the international community as long as it has not been specifically interdicted by treaty, or is it a proper matter for investigation wherever it occurs, under the human-rights provisions of the U. N. Charter?

In the course of committee discussions at Lake Success two schools of thought are gradually emerging on this general question of sovereignty versus international organization. One school adheres rigidly to the letter of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which states that "nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter." The United States, on the question of Spain, has constituted itself the chief supporter of this position, defending the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of nations and, on that ground, vehemently opposing the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Franco government.

This view was presented with violent intransigence and at one point with cheap theatricalism by Senator Connally on December 7, when he asked rhetorically, waving a water tray, whether the United Nations should offer Spain democracy on a platter—displaying shocking ignorance of what Léon Jouhaux of France, with dignified eloquence, had pointed out earlier in the debate: that the people of Spain had achieved democracy in the 1930's, only to have it snatched from them by Nazi-Fascist intervention, which the democratic powers declined to oppose. Yet the United States apparently considers it consonant with the principle of non-intervention to urge Franco to surrender his power to a provisional government and to invite the Spanish people, over the dictator's head, to liberate themselves—an appeal which, as several Latin American spokesmen have pointed out, could turn out to be incitement to bloody civil war, without the slightest offer of help on the part of the United Nations. Nor is it clear how the United States squares its insistence on non-intervention in the case of Spain with its demand for strict international control of the use of atomic energy and its constant inquiry into the political situation in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Poland (although Washington would justify this action by the existence of the Yalta pledges). Yet in all fairness it must be recalled that when this country *has* intervened in the internal affairs of countries in this hemisphere, it has been subjected to criticism not only by the Latin Americans but by many of our own liberals; and it is not mere coincidence that one of the strongest supporters of the doctrine of non-intervention in the Assembly turns out to be Nicaragua, which has not forgotten the American marines.

Yet it is among Latin Americans that the second school of thought, which supports a broad interpretation of collective action, has found its most vigorous spokesmen. Future historians of the U. N. will unquestionably point to the speech made on December 3 by Dr. Alfaro, the judicial-minded former President of Panama, as one of the trail-blazing statements of our times. Dr. Alfaro, discussing Spain, declared without any "ifs" and "buts" that intervention is a "fetish word." In the wars of the nineteenth century, he said, we were struggling to achieve national *independence* (and this, of course, led to strong emphasis on the concept of national sovereignty); in the wars of the twentieth century we have been struggling to achieve *interdependence*. The theory that no *individual state* can intervene in the affairs of another, contends Dr. Alfaro, does not bar *collective action* by the community of nations. The clause in the Charter about domestic jurisdiction does not, in his opinion, prevent U. N. intervention in the affairs of individual members. Otherwise the U. N. would be powerless to act, and the Charter would not be worth the paper it is written on—for every nation could resist U. N. action on the plea that, for example, the production of armaments is a matter of domestic jurisdiction.

Dr. Alfaro's concept of national sovereignty in the atomic age would not at the present time receive the whole-hearted support of either the United States or Russia, both of which support only the kind of intervention that happens to suit their national objectives. Mr. Baruch would be on Dr. Alfaro's side with respect to atomic energy; Mr. Molotov would be on his side with respect to Spain. Gradually, however, the no man's land of national action regarded as closed to international inquiry is being narrowed in the Assembly committee debates; and this will be an accomplishment of lasting significance even if no concrete action comes out of the current session.

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Unconditional Surrender

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, December 8

JOHN L. LEWIS has not retired from public life or fallen on his rusty coal pick, but it will never again be possible to take him quite so seriously as the nation—and a large part of the world—have taken him for the past decade. His grip over the mines will survive this débâcle; conceivably he may strut the boards again in a few months, assuming magnificent postures and reciting grandiloquent lines. But the audience will remember that less than seventy-two hours after he had risen in a courtroom to shout his defiance of the judicial process, the United States government, the cruel coal barons, and the perverse fates, he made a bow to the Supreme Court and surrendered unconditionally to diminutive Harry Truman. He could have yielded earlier with grace, but he insisted upon setting the stage for the biggest show of all.

The proportions of this defeat are infinitely greater than that of 1919, when he yielded to a court injunction, or than his strategic retreat in 1943, when he halted a strike on the eve of a Roosevelt broadcast. In 1919 no such speeches had been made for the history books; no similar self-portrait had been painted showing preparation for martyrdom. In 1943 the government was split, the nation was at war, and neither Roosevelt nor Lewis had drawn the issue of sovereignty so sharply or committed themselves so far. This time all the chips were down. The struggle was a naked test of power.

Lewis's climactic bluff was staged in the courtroom on Tuesday and Wednesday. On Tuesday, after the defense unexpectedly rested without calling any witnesses, he sonorously read his anti-injunction manifesto, picturing himself as labor's voice in the legal wilderness, declaring his readiness for any punitive ordeal. The next day, after the $3,500,000 fine had been imposed on the union and sentence was about to be pronounced on himself, he wrathfully stood up again, inviting the court to deal him any blows it saw fit. His manner exuded contempt as if he were exulting in the quaint notion that the banner of Debs was being held aloft by the Republican Lewis.

But on Saturday the flag was white. Displaying neither anger nor sadness, acting as if he had almost exhausted his emotional repertory, he prefaced the reading of his statement to the press with a long, rambling discourse. "Questions as to motives will be pure speculation," he intoned; "a philosopher has said the pursuit of motive is the most elusive task in the world, as you gentlemen well know." The scene was the crowded, smoky basement of the Mine Workers' Building, pervaded with the Lewis legend of invincibility. He provided little to sustain the legend.

Lewis was a badly whipped man, and he knew it. If there is any bitter solace for him, it lies in the knowledge that all of labor, as the opening of Congress approaches, is in the most precarious position since pre-New Deal times. The United Mine Workers may ultimately pay the contempt fines, but all unions will pay the legislative bill.

Lewis was beaten because he could not divide the Administration and he could not write the law. Mr. Truman has great tenacity once he fully embraces an idea; the pity is that he has reached that state of passionate conviction only twice during his administration—in the rail strike and the mine stoppage. Similar purposefulness might have impressed the steel magnates when they extorted higher prices last winter, and the meat interests when they put on their autumn sitdown. In the coal crisis Truman finally relied on Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug, Clark Clifford, and the Justice Department attorneys who repeatedly outmaneuvered the union. Lewis could not get anywhere through friends at the President's court any more than he could score in Judge Goldsborough's bailiwick. In retrospect it is clear that the courtroom orations were a final attempt to frighten the Administration by conjuring up images of disaster.

Lewis's desperation was mounting even while he held the stage in court. On Wednesday his attorneys, meeting with Goldsborough in chambers, asked for delay in imposition of the sentences to permit new negotiations with the operators. Young John Sonnett, who directed the government's legal strategy, went secretly to the White House. The President was adamant.

The suddenness of the surrender amazed the White House. A deal between Lewis and the operators had been regarded as the most likely way out; Mr. Truman was merely taking the position that he would not actively promote the deal. But the government's stand and the courtroom results stiffened the operators. Lewis's admirers in industry could not swing a backroom settlement. Lewis was alone and he was cornered. What was probably more crucial than all these factors, his lawyers were finally telling him the grim news; they could not guarantee reversal of the contempt verdict.

It is widely felt here that the union made its fatal legal mistake when Lewis ignored the initial restraining order and let the strike proceed on schedule. The order was not contested until the contempt action was begun. By that time the government could contend that, regardless of the applicability of the Norris-LaGuardia act, the union was guilty of contempt. It stood a strong chance of sustaining that view in the Supreme Court. If the strike dragged on and the high court upheld the government, on the narrow ground, Lewis and the United Mine Workers might be paying an additional $250,000 for each day's delay in ending the walkout.

That reasoning, I am told, brought the decision to capitulate. Lewis was reduced to a choice between saving

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his face or his neck: destruction of the union treasury meant the end of his rule.

None of the major labor leaders who voiced the courage of Lewis's legal convictions offered any tangible help. When the government wisely opposed imprisonment of Lewis it averted the threat of sympathy strikes. Heads of other unions were increasingly restive over mounting unemployment; other wage negotiations were imperiled. Lewis has a talent for hell-raising, but intellectually he is a conservative, with no social idealism to sustain him in a seemingly lost-cause and no long-range solution to the crisis he had created. The threat of nationalization might have induced the operators to temporize. Lewis never uttered the horrid word.

In this hour of hard-won triumph President Truman may be forgiven momentary delusions of grandeur. It will be tragic, however, if the celebration obscures the storms ahead. Lewis's defeat does not resolve the legitimate grievances of labor in an uncontrolled, inflationary economy; nor does it cure the chronic malady of the coal industry. The danger is that powerful industrial and financial interests will be stimulated by Lewis's defeat to revive their oldest, ugliest habits in labor relations and to resist reasonable union demands. The Congressional atmosphere will encourage that form of folly. Mr. Truman may swiftly get a new chance to demonstrate that his toughness is not exclusively reserved for intransigent labor leaders.

Free Press in a Free World

BY WILLIAM K. REED, JR.

THE American concept of freedom of the press is now on trial before the world. During the next few months it will be weighed against foreign views by three different United Nations bodies attempting to formulate a plan for freedom of information throughout the world. The U. N.'s interest here, as in other international affairs, is based on its interest in preserving peace. Misunderstandings between peoples, the belief is, could be prevented if the free flow of news across national borders were insured. It is hoped, too, that this freedom, once secured, would protect such other human rights as freedom of religion and racial equality.

It was, in fact, the Commission on Human Rights that first grappled with the issue by recommending the creation of a Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press. Last June the Economic and Social Council granted authority to put the recommendation into effect. Because of the tedious administrative procedure required to establish a new U. N. body, the subcommission probably will not meet until next spring. Meanwhile our State Department has drafted a plan which has been presented by Chester Bowles to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization now meeting in Paris. This plan asks for a removal of all barriers, political or economic, to the free flow of information. A proposal to prepare a report on the subject has been passed by a UNESCO subcommittee on mass media.

A less ambitious project has been adopted by a committee of the General Assembly. Proposed by the Philippine delegation, this asks that the U. N. call an international press conference for the purpose of obtaining greater cooperation among journalists of member nations. Further interest in the topic was aroused recently when the inter-American press conference at Bogota, Colombia, authorized the establishment of a commission to investigate freedom of the press in all the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Much international debate on the problem is thus slated for the future. The Subcommission on Freedom of Information and the Press is enjoined "in the first instance" to "examine what rights, obligations, and practices should be included in the concept freedom of information." The need for a definition was properly emphasized, for different interpretations of what constitutes freedom of information have been at the bottom of many international disputes.

Since government control of radio and motion pictures has long been accepted in most of the major countries, it is around the question of control of the press that the conflict rages most fiercely. Complete independence from government control is, primarily, what is meant by freedom of the press in the United States. A press thus free is believed to be automatically a responsible press. How this works in actual practice was explained by Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York *Times,* in a recent speech before the eighteenth annual Boston Conference on Distribution. Press evils must be dealt with by newspaper readers, Mr. Sulzberger asserted, "through a slow but remorseless selective process. . . . The people have the power, under our system, to perpetuate the paper of their choice." Responsibility for a good press, therefore, rests not only on the conscience of the publisher but also on the readers at the newsstand.

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The proposal of the State Department goes one step farther. After asking that the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization remove all obstacles to the use of information media, it states plainly that the organization should concern itself with "the protection of the peoples of the world against any misuse of these media such as might result in their degradation and perversion to the point of fostering international ill-will and misunderstanding." This was apparently a concession to other nations which had already voiced concepts of freedom that differed considerably from those of American publishers.

Dr. C. L. Hsia, Chinese member of the Commission on Human Rights, opened the discussion of the recommended subcommission by declaring that a plan viewing the world problem through "American eyes" could not be applicable to all nations. He suggested, therefore, that the subcommission include "representatives of countries at different stages of development in this field." Dr. Hsia's point is worth attention. In a country with a high rate of illiteracy, a low standard of living, and relatively undeveloped communications, there is something to be said for the traditional double role of the Chinese journalist—to inform and to lead. And it is questionable whether the inhabitants of such a country could deal with press evils through the "selective process" Mr. Sulzberger suggests for American readers. Conceivably, then, there is an argument for international control of press policies in certain parts of the world. Some of Dr. Hsia's colleagues thought that such control should be universal.

Dusan Brkish, the delegate from Yugoslavia, said flatly that the subcommission should study measures to be taken "against those who abuse freedom of information by publishing false information and poisoning public opinion." His idea was warmly supported by Professor René Cassin of France, who noted regretfully that the privilege of a free press in his country had been "used by the enemies of freedom against freedom itself."

When the debate reached the Economic and Social Council, similar opinions were expressed. The delegates from Greece, Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom, and Belgium agreed that any plan for world freedom of information should contain provisions for preventing its abuse. There was a difference of opinion, however, about what these measures should be. Opinions ranged from the view of the Belgian delegate, Fernand de Housse, that "information supplied by the United Nations should be inserted compulsorily in the press of all contracting states" to that of Philip J. Noel-Baker, British delegate, who thought the U. N., "in cooperation" with the press and radio, should attempt to restrain "perversions" of the truth.

As if further to accentuate the divergence between American thinking and that of other countries, the first meeting of the International Organization of Journalists in Copenhagen passed a resolution that "press freedom can never be fully assured while newspapers, news agencies, and broadcasting systems are solely in the hands of individuals or private monopolies with no resposibility to the people." Obviously aimed at the Anglo-American press, this statement may have had its first actual repercussion when journalist members of the House of Commons in England recently sponsored a proposal for an investigation of newspaper monopolies. The fact that the resolution was passed in a free vote indicates that the United Kingdom may go hand in hand with other powers on some of the less radical demands for press control. The British, like the French, have begun to question whether their cherished ideal of press freedom has been an unadulterated good.

Faced with this array of clashing world opinion, it is well that our UNESCO delegates carry instructions which support the idea of protecting people against the irresponsible use of freedom by the press. Their directions do not, however, presume to state exactly in what manner effective control measures can be reconciled with our understanding of press freedom.

It should be noted that the choice is not simply between the independent American press and the rigidly controlled government press of Russia. Gradations of control may be found in other industries in the United States and in the publishing industry in other countries. Of these various systems, American publishers would probably be most willing to accept a form of voluntary control within the newspaper business. As early as 1923 the American Society of Newspaper Editors adopted indisputably high professional standards, which they set forth in the "Canons of Journalism." At that time Herbert Bayard Swope insisted on putting "teeth" in the canons, but he was overruled and they have never been enforced. With the canons as background, however, it is possible that American publishers would agree to punitive measures in a similar international code, provided they themselves drafted and administered it.

Another form of control within the industry is that exercised by unions of journalists. The Australian Journalists' Association, which claims nearly 100 per cent of the newspaper writers in the country, enforces through fines and suspensions a rigid code of ethics dealing with distortion, untruth, and gross inaccuracy. It is not concerned with opinion unless the opinion is based on something said to be not a fact. At present the code cannot be enforced against non-members—that is, publishers and certain editors—but the union is agitating to obtain this right through statutory action.

Control by a combination of publishers, journalists, and printers is suggested in a proposed French press law. This provides that newspapers shall be run by a council

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of administration composed of representatives of both capital and labor. Printers' and writers' unions will elect the labor members; capital members will be appointed by the owners. The council will elect its own chairman, but no man can be chairman who owns or controls another business enterprise.

While the control of press policies by the industry itself is closest to the desires of American publishers, foreign publishers might be more willing to accept a control exercised by the United Nations. The authority for examining newspapers and monitoring radio broadcasts to detect propaganda injurious to world peace could rest with an autonomous U. N. unit, as recommended by the University of Chicago Commission on Freedom of the Press. Such a body would make periodic reports to the General Assembly about "areas in which distortion of facts and fomenting of international discord are being carried on."

Another step in the same direction would give an international group the same power over the press as our own Federal Communications Commission has over radio. But if this step were taken, constitutional safeguards should be established to preserve freedom of comment.

A third form of control is exercised by political parties. This is still prevalent in a large sector of Europe and in some areas in the Far and Near East. In many countries political groups subsidize newspapers which follow the party line in their editorials and, too often, in their news columns as well. Pre-war France had a notoriously biased and venal political press. A provisional press law in Czechoslovakia permits only political, labor, cultural, and religious organizations to publish newspapers and magazines. This, I am told, has had the effect of turning the press of the country into political or quasi-political organs. An interesting method of preventing such subservience has been set up in the American zone of Germany, where each newspaper is administered by a board of directors representing all shades of political opinion. Among the members, for example, would be Christian Liberal Democrats, Social Democrats, and Communists, with a non-partisan member thrown in if he could be found. I am informed that in some areas our occupation officers have taken great pains to find Communist newspapermen to round out the boards.

As these illustrations show, there are other ways of controlling press policies than by the restrictions of a dictatorial government, the scruples of a publisher, or the choice of readers as it is reflected in the popularity of newspapers.

The problem is not simply whether it is practical to extend the American concept to all the United Nations. Other countries are already on record as opposing this. The question is how far we are willing to go, in order to prevent war, in compromising a basic American tradition. If we are inclined to be adamant about it, the world project will degenerate into a cosy corporation of nations which already think exactly as we do. We have seen international corporations in other fields that failed to include everybody. They have almost always been a threat, rather than an aid, to world peace.

What Russia Wants

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, December 3

NEVER before probably has the Russian average citizen been so world conscious or so "disarmament conscious" as in these days of the disarmament debates at the U. N. The press prints columns and columns of verbatim reports, with comment, of what Molotov and Vishinsky, Connally, Shawcross, and Noel-Baker say at Lake Success; all these columns are carefully read by the ordinary citizen—you have only to watch him in the Moscow subway any morning; and every day there are countless meetings at which it is all discussed, explained, and digested. The interest is not just academic; everybody feels that the decisions reached in the U. N. will affect the whole course of events in the world.

Sometimes I wonder whether in any other country today the rank and file follow so conscientiously the tortuous progress of the disarmament discussions precipitated by the Molotov proposals. Russians are convinced not only that the issue is of the utmost importance but that the Soviet Union took the initiative in opening up the whole subject. American reactions, too, are being eagerly watched. "So the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* are beginning to pay tribute to Soviet initiative, and no longer just *PM*—our people must have made a big impression," Soviet citizens note with satisfaction. They also feel that Molotov is making a serious effort to cut the ground from under the feet of his critics, and

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heaven knows there has been more criticism than is good for anybody.

Do the Americans wish to extend the inventory of troops in non-enemy countries to troops abroad generally? O.K., say the Russians. Do they assert that all disarmament talk is futile unless the Russians accept inspection? O. K., say the Russians; we not only accept but formally propose control and inspection. But when Bevin demands in effect, Tell us the number of your home troops, the Russians again reply O.K.—provided you people tell us what arms you have. And when that is refused, the Russians are in a position to say, We have offered to put all our cards on the table, but you other fellows won't. That is how the disarmament discussion presents itself to the Moscow reader: the Soviet delegation is ready for all-out disarmament with disclosure of effectives and arms, while Britain and America are willing to disclose the number of their home troops, which is of very minor interest to the Russians, but want to keep their weapons a secret.

Russia, in the midst of economic reconstruction, is not anxious to engage in an armaments race, is willing to go to considerable lengths to avoid it; it is even prepared to accept inspection. It considers the outlawing or, better still, the abolition of atom bombs of cardinal importance; they are the sword of Damocles hanging, as Vishinsky said, on a thin—very thin—thread over humanity's head. One of the chief reasons why the Russian public is so passionately interested in these disarmament discussions is just because they may put an end to the atom-bomb menace. It thinks this may be accomplished in the U. N., and its anger is great when papers like the London *Daily Mail* or *Telegraph* say the U. N. might as well close down since the Russians will not compromise on the veto question. And when the *Daily Mail* asks, "One world or two?" the Russians reply fiercely, "It is we who want one world; it is you and Winston Churchill who want two."

Russia has undoubtedly a genuine desire for disarmament—"and don't pickle the atom bomb like cabbage or cucumbers for the winter, just in case," Vishinsky emphasized. Behind this desire are both home and international reasons, one of the latter being the wish to obtain the good-will of ever-growing sections of world opinion by taking the lead in this matter. There has been too much propaganda abroad about Russia putting a spoke in the wheels. The Russians want the world to see that their proposals, if they are not torpedoed, will make the United Nations a reality.

It is recognized here that in all countries some people want to live peacefully with the Soviet Union and others, whether they want it or not, "don't believe in the possibility." The world is in a state of flux, and progressives everywhere realize that Russia is the source of ideas for millions of people in Europe and Asia; the new economic democracy is one of these ideas, race equality another. Other people either won't recognize this fact or refuse to accept it, and consider a physical clash, a great ideological war, more or less inevitable. The Russians have been following with immense interest all manifestations in the world of what they call "progressive humanity," people who do not forget Russia's war record and who admit its present importance—Wallace and other groups in America in both the Democratic and the Republican Party, the anti-Bevinites in England. The *New Times* this week prints a survey of the world showing the growing leftward movement in every country of Europe. It is important to show these groups and as many other people as possible that the Soviet Union stands for peace and disarmament, that it is "an ally of all progressive forces in the world," that it is in the vanguard of the struggle against Franco, that it is a "supporter of good causes."

Drawing by Golden

All Russian writers who have recently visited America —Simonov, Ehrenburg, Korneichuk, Galaktionov—report that anti-Soviet propaganda there has reached alarming proportions. Regarding America two things are now noted with some satisfaction—the relatively favorable reaction to the Russian disarmament initiative, and the fact that the principal clashes of the Russian delegates are not with the Americans but with Bevin, the Americans at some stages even mediating between the Russians and the British, though the Anglo-American front is invariably soon restored. The fact that there have been moments when the Americans were "more progressive" than Bevin has been noted with interest. Russians are also convinced that among the small nations of the U. N. the Soviet proposals have caused much thinking and heart searching: "Wouldn't it be a better world if the Russians really got the atom bomb completely eliminated from human affairs?" If the disarmament talks break down completely, the disappointment will be acute, for with an armaments race in full swing everything is thought likely to go from bad to worse. Hence the immense public interest in the U. N.

It is considered gratifying that the discussions among the Foreign Ministers have also been going well lately,

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that they have been, indeed, proceeding on a slightly different basis—not always with Britain and America against Russia. Thus on the question of Bulgarian and Italian reparations the British were on one side of the fence and the Russians and Americans on the other. An extremely detailed report in *Izvestia* this week on the Foreign Ministers' discussions registers great satisfaction over the progress achieved on Trieste and other questions; it is very conciliatory in tone and not only pays tribute to the Soviet delegation's firmness, patience, and capacity for compromise when necessary, but clearly indicates that the Western Allies too were determined to lead the peace talks to a successful conclusion.

The Russians have never believed there was any ground for the pessimism which marked the comments on the peace conference at Paris, for they are convinced that in the last analysis all the great powers are equally anxious to arrive at a settlement. The danger that separate treaties would be made by Russia on the one hand and the Western powers on the other never existed, they feel, except in the imagination of those who wanted to see "two worlds." In the Russian approach to the final stages of the peace settlement with Germany's allies, one observes the same desire for conciliation, for a peaceful *modus vivendi* in the years to come, and the same wish to impress this upon world opinion, as in Russia's approach to disarmament. Germany is admittedly a far more difficult problem than Italy and Bulgaria, but the present Russian attitude creates a more hopeful atmosphere for the impending inter-Allied discussions on Germany.

I have often asked my Russian friends why their obvious desire to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with the rest of the world is accompanied by such a sharp ideological line at home. Apparently the incentives to work must be created, rigid discipline must be restored, and the people must be persuaded that it is vitally important for them to behave always as conscientious, self-respecting citizens for whom the common good is more important than individual profit. Private profit-seeking has been vigorously denounced on numerous occasions in the recent past, by Stalin personally and by the Zhdanov decree against the abuses and malpractices that have developed on the collective farms.

Literature, the cinema, and the theater have all been mobilized for what is called the education of the masses. What is taken abroad as long-term policy is often in fact relatively short-term policy dictated by conditions and dangers existing during the present transition period from war to what, let us hope, will be peace. "Our writers must march in serried ranks, and he who steps off the road to pick flowers in a field is like a deserter," Constantine Simonov recently said. "Our views on the duties of literature are different from what those duties are conceived to be in the West," is one of Zhdanov's themes.

Writers who are not "divorced from reality"—J. B. Priestley, for example—continue in high favor in the Soviet Union; others, we are told, should not be imitated by Soviet writers. The current issue of the literary magazine *Znamia* says that critics must be intransigent in condemning writers who imitate Proust, Remarque, or Hemingway. Proust is obviously too introspective, individualistic, "morbid." Remarque is a debunker of military heroism. True, Remarque portrayed the horror and squalor of an imperialistic war, but any such treatment of the recent war must be avoided by Soviet writers. Hemingway took the glory out of war in "Farewell to Arms," but he is out of favor for other reasons also, even though he has numerous fans among the intelligentsia and has been highly praised by Ehrenburg. He is too individualistic, he has stylistic mannerisms which the Russian writers must avoid, and he often lapses into "obscenity" and eroticism. Eroticism is not favored in Soviet literature. Recently a novel was denounced because its hero developed "dark instincts" which turned his family life into a sordid triangle. The critics said that although such things unfortunately did happen, they were not typical of Soviet family life and were therefore not worth portraying.

But all this drive for a "purer and nobler" literature cannot be treated separately from the general policy of smartening up the people in the post-war period and of avoiding a lapse into the atmosphere of the early twenties. This approach to literature is so different from the Western approach that any common intellectual undertaking, say in UNESCO, seems impossible. Russia's present literary policy is very sharply defined. The great question is whether it is a short-term or a long-term policy.

The Russians are much concerned over the future of UNRRA. All their sympathy is with LaGuardia's stand, and they are strongly against making further aid the subject of bilateral agreements. Under these, if the political implications of the proposal are what the Russians suspect them to be, Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine would be unlikely to benefit. Nor would countries like Poland and Yugoslavia; and it is considered an ominous sign that the first of such bilateral agreements was reached with Greece. Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine, as LaGuardia knows, really need UNRRA help; the urban populations of these countries have been largely dependent for the past year on UNRRA supplies for meat and fats. If they have to depend on Soviet reserves, which as a result of the poor harvest are not high, they will suffer increased hardships. Gromyko, therefore, has strongly pressed for a purely humanitarian and non-political approach to the question of extending UNRRA.

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How to Stop the Depression

BY CHESTER BOWLES

IN LATE June, 1946, a combination of Republican Congressmen and Senators and some reactionary Democrats finally succeeded in knocking the props out from under effective price control. The Rube Goldberg price-control bill which the President signed in July had little chance of success. In the next four months the cost of living rose two and one-half times as much as in the three previous years.

As prices have risen, the working people of America —the sixty million men and women who man our assembly lines, drive our trucks and combines, work store cash registers, and run office comptometers—have watched their war-time prosperity fade, their real income dwindle. And they face additional troubles in coming months.

Corporation profits *after taxes* and net farm income, after the payment of all expenses, will be far greater in 1946 than they were during the peak production of the war years. Labor's take-home pay will be less; it will be roughly the same as in the spring of 1943. And yet conservative editorial writers and radio commentators, taking their cue from the propaganda of certain business groups, have been proclaiming to high heaven that it's time labor was taught a good lesson.

Since the crushing Republican victory of November the more reactionary industrial interests have been making it abundantly clear that from now on they will have the whip hand. This can spell considerable trouble for all of us in the months ahead. Out of such a situation can grow a depression which will shake our economic system to its foundations. Much of our ability to maintain full employment will depend on government action. But to an even greater extent the success of our efforts to keep our economy rolling at top speed will depend on the wages and salaries which are arrived at by collective bargaining.

In every generation since the Civil War the productive capacity of our industrial plants has doubled. Certainly in the new age of atomic energy we can expect this rate of increase to be continued. Unless we increase proportionately the amount of purchasing power in the hands of the people, all the people—workers, farmers, and business men—we shall not be able to buy the volume of goods which we are capable of producing. Production will then slow down, workers will begin to be unemployed, purchasing power will be reduced still farther, and we shall find ourselves headed for trouble. Our forty million families will have the funds with which to buy our increasing output of goods only if wages, salaries, and farm income move steadily upward. How fast they will move will be decided by agreements reached through democratic collective bargaining. A constructive approach on both sides will be called for and a clear understanding of the economic issues involved.

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THREE WAYS TO RAISE WAGES

There are only three ways in which wages can be raised. The first is to increase the productive output of each worker and to pass on to him in the form of higher pay a major part of the results of his increased efficiency. By and large, this is the way we have raised our standard of living in the past. It is by all odds the best method because it assures the consumer stable or even lower prices and allows business to maintain the profits which are essential for enlarging plant facilities and further stepping up industrial efficiency.

Opponents of price control used to tell us that higher wages invariably meant higher prices, but this statement betrays grave ignorance of the workings of a modern economy. Between 1919 and the spring of 1946 the average hourly earnings of our factory workers slightly more than doubled, profits trebled—and prices remained roughly the same. In many industries increased efficiency has enabled manufacturers to improve markedly the quality of their product, lower prices, raise wages, and increase over-all profits. That is the way our economy must work if we are all to benefit from a rising level of prosperity. Any other course spells economic disaster, not only for the workers but for business men.

In the absence of increased output per hour of effort, wages can be raised by adding the increased wage cost to the price charged to the consumer. In certain industries greater efficiency is unattainable, and this method of raising wages may be justified. But if we followed such a policy extensively enough to affect our whole economy, we should clearly get nowhere. The extra money paid out in wages would be spent, not on additional goods, but on higher-priced goods, and the standard of living would remain the same.

Another way to increase wages in those industries where labor productivity has not risen is to decrease profits. Certainly this approach is justified where profits are exorbitant, as is the case in several areas in our economy today. But if profits generally are decreased

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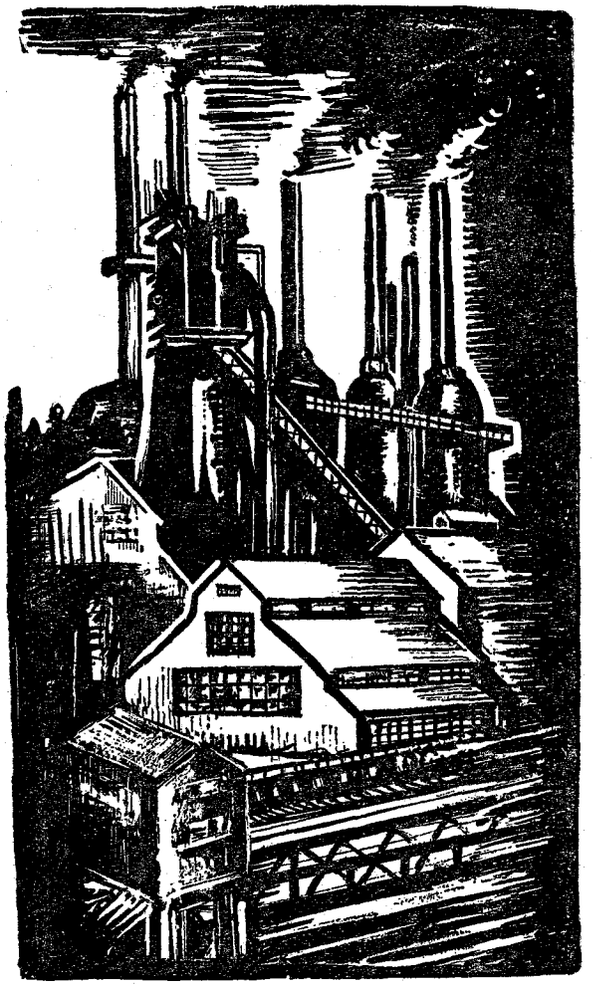

Drawing by Seligson

below a certain point, the whole economy will bog down. This is not simply theory. We saw it happen in England and France in the years before the war. The capital necessary to increase the efficiency of British and French plants was lacking. As a result, the output per worker remained stagnant in England from 1929 until the outbreak of the war. In France it was actually reduced by 25 per cent as machinery became antiquated. Under such circumstances it was impossible for the British and French people to increase their standard of living.

Except in industries where profits are out of all reason, our ability to increase purchasing power depends on our ability to increase industrial efficiency. How, then, can the output per hour of industrial workers be raised? By far the most important way is through the use of better machinery and improved techniques of engineering and management. We can look for tremendous advances in this field during the next two or three years. And with the development of atomic energy, almost anything is conceivable.

Many business men also say that production can be increased by more effort on the part of their employees. In some cases this claim may be reasonable. But studies have proved that when production falls off, the cause is usually, not labor's unwillingness to work, but the inefficient *use* of labor. In most instances the drop has occurred when assembly lines have been disrupted by an inability to maintain a reservoir of certain basic materials and key parts.

If in some industries workers are actually putting in less physical effort, what is the remedy? In 1939, with eight million workers unemployed, a foreman could step up production by simply reminding the men that there were plenty of others who were anxious to work. This fact has led some of our more hard-hearted industrialists to the conclusion that what we really need to keep the workers on their toes is a permanent pool of four or five million unemployed. In a civilized economy, however, factory workers should not have to be goaded to increased effort by the fear of losing their jobs. A better method is to improve working conditions and set up some modified system of incentive payments.

Many labor leaders are opposed fundamentally to the whole idea of incentive payments. They can remember only too vividly how in the days before labor was organized such incentives were used to speed up the work tempo until men over forty-five found it impossible to maintain the pace. In an age of strong labor organizations this objection seems somewhat unrealistic. The unions today are in a position to bargain for high minimum pay for those who are capable of a certain output, with increased hourly wages above that figure for those who are willing and able to add to their weekly pay check through extra effort.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING MUST WORK

The responsibility of both management and labor in the field of collective bargaining will be a heavy one during the next few years. The health of the national economy, and indeed our ability to preserve the advantages inherent in our modified free-enterprise system, will depend on the result of their efforts. If the economy once starts into a tailspin, we can be sure that government will be forced by the will of the people to take a far more active part in managing our economic affairs. Let us not fool ourselves. Unless we do a better job in dividing the increased income produced by our factories, the government will eventually have to handle the job for us.

Probably the greatest hurdle in our way is the lack of economic understanding shown by many powerful business interests. American business men, in general, have a far greater knowledge of engineering, organization, and merchandising than their British counterparts. But British business men, producing in a country of limited demand which depends largely on foreign trade, have perforce learned more about how economic forces operate. Last winter a prominent British industrialist said to me: "I am deeply disturbed about the lack of economic understanding in America, particularly among those who make the most vital decisions. I found the greatest awareness of economic principles among the workers on your assembly lines. The next best-informed group are your

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foremen. Most of the business men with whom I talked seemed dangerously ignorant of what makes your economy function. But the greatest ignorance of all is displayed by your bankers."

Labor leaders must also be held responsible for our economic progress or its lack in the years ahead. Blind demands for nation-wide wage increases in advance of increased productivity can only result in higher and still higher prices. On the other hand, if labor leaders fail to bargain aggressively for a major share of the greater income which comes from greater output, unemployment will be inevitable.

A good deal of the heat and bitterness in collective bargaining could be removed by the establishment of labor-management committees which would determine the increase in output per worker from year to year in individual industries. Reliable statistics would give each side a sound basis for bargaining. With efficiency likely to increase rapidly in the next two or three years, labor has everything to gain from the collection of such statistics.

Labor should recognize the need for some system of incentive payments in many industries. It is strong enough today to make sure that the principle would not be abused. Labor should also insist on its right, as a major factor in the creation of economic wealth, to know all about how an industry is run, including the division of profits. In the past thirty years the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have developed an efficient working relationship with their employers—a relationship based on a full knowledge of the profits of the industry from year to year. In times of economic stress this knowledge has given the men who head the Amalgamated a sense of responsibility. In good times it has enabled them to obtain for the workers their proper share of the industry's total dollar income.

The next few months are bound to be uneasy. Many industrialists will view the results of the election as a signal to crack down on labor. Reactionary Congressmen will try to push through punitive labor legislation. The situation calls for understanding and tolerance on both sides, for much will hang on the final outcome.

Our ability to maintain an essentially free-enterprise system in a world tending toward socialism will largely depend on the ability of labor and management to construct a solid economic basis for the equitable division of the wealth produced by American industry. The purchasing power of all our people, with organized labor as a spearhead, must be pushed gradually upward year after year as we increase our national wealth. If we can solve this problem through collective bargaining, a great victory will be won for the American ideal of economic democracy. Failure could start far-reaching changes in our entire economic system, for Americans will no longer accept economic stagnation and unemployment in a land of potential plenty.

The Klan: Post-War Model

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, December 1

GOVERNOR ARNALL of Georgia has been racing against time to smash the Ku Klux Klan in that state before Governor-elect Talmadge takes office. On November 9 Assistant Attorney General Daniel Duke, designated by the Governor to prosecute the Klan, filed new charges in the Superior Court at Atlanta as an amendment to an earlier suit to revoke the Klan's charter. In them the state alleged that in 1940 the Klan sought to merge with the German-American Bund in one racially supreme all-Aryan organization and that even now it is trying to combine ultra-nationalist veterans' groups with anti-Semitic and anti-Negro factions. The state asked revocation of the Klan's charter on the ground that the KKK was "systematically carrying out a policy designed to violate the rights of Georgia citizens guaranteed under the constitution of the state and of the United States."

On November 29 the Klan asked that the state's suit be thrown out of court, filing a claim of improper service of the papers and a plea in abatement containing demurrers to every paragraph in the state's amended suit. The plea in abatement cannot be heard until after the disposition of the traverse-of-service claim, to which the court has ordered that a reply be made by December 13. Since court recesses on December 15 for the rest of the year, there is now little likelihood that the state's case against the Klan will go to trial. Governor-elect Talmadge is expected to order it dropped as soon as he is inaugurated.

But not in Georgia alone is the Klan again in the news. For a year the papers have been carrying accounts of its revived activities throughout the South and also in other parts of the country. It is difficult to obtain

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precise information on the vigor and extent of its resurgence, but a general report can be patched together from news stories, magazine articles, and the investigations of private agencies.

An effort to revive the KKK was anticipated before the war ended. Elmer Roper predicted it in April, 1945, for the Roper polls indicated a general rise in racial feeling, with the scapegoat group varying in different regions. At about the same time Dr. Scudder Mekeel of the University of Wisconsin warned of "the imminent creation of such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan." "So far," he said, "we have not had a hate and super-nationalist organization that combined with prejudice a definite ideology to apply to government." But the fact that "the active use of racial prejudice in this country is definitely associated with reactionary and illiberal ideas," suggested, he thought, that such a combination might be made in the post-war period.

It should be noted that the KKK was never actually dissolved after the First World War. From a peak of 8,904,871 reached about 1924, the membership dropped to 2,000,000 in 1926, to 321,000 in 1927, to 82,609 in 1929, and to 39,694 in 1930; but the organization itself never ceased to function. All during the thirties there were news stories of attempts to revive it. Finally, on April 23, 1944, the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., the parent organization behind the 1915-to-1924 revival, being pressed by the Treasury Department for payment of delinquent taxes in the amount of $685,000, held a national convention in Atlanta at which the officers "repealed all decrees, vacated all offices, voided all charters, and relieved every klansman of any obligation whatever" (New York *Times,* June 19, 1946). It is apparent, however, that this was a dissolution *de jure,* to avoid, the processes of the Treasury Department, and not *de facto,* for it was decided at the same convention to keep the charter alive and, pending reorganization, to establish an informal Association of Georgia Klans. But at any rate, the Ku Klux Klan suspended its corporate activities on June 4, 1944, and for purely fiscal reasons went underground.

BURNING CROSSES APPEAR AGAIN

The first sign of its emergence came on October 10, 1945, when a fiery cross was burned on Stone Mountain near Atlanta. Shortly afterward Drew Pearson reported that Klan chapters were holding regular meetings in Atlanta, Knoxville, Birmingham, Key West, and a number of other Southern communities. This upsurge of activity seems to have been related to the fight in Congress, in the summer of 1945, over an appropriation for the continuance of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. When the filibuster against the FEPC began in the Senate in January, 1946, rumblings of KKK activities could be heard all over the South. The defeat of the motion to invoke the cloture rule on February 9, 1946, was followed on February 26 by the Columbia, Tennessee, race riot—the first after the war.

On March 21, 1946, a corporate registration fee was paid for the KKK in Atlanta, and the 1943-46 franchise taxes were paid. On May 10 another meeting was held at Stone Mountain with much fanfare, including the burning of crosses, the appearance of seven hundred hooded members, and the initiation of several hundred new members. Even before this meeting, however, the sparks had begun to fly. On March 21 crosses were burned in Flint, Michigan, in response to the announcement that George Friley, a Negro, would be a candidate for a city commission. Between V-J Day and June 1, 1946, eleven crosses were burned in Chattanooga, and Mrs. Kate Robbins, a Jewish woman, was compelled by Klan threats to close her store in Redbank, a suburb.

On June 14 President Green of the A. F. of L. filed a complaint with the Department of Justice that Willie Dudley, a Negro trade unionist, had been abducted and beaten by masked Klansmen at Gordon, Georgia. Incorporation papers for the Klan were filed in Birmingham on July 12, and a statement was issued that there were four "klaverns" in Birmingham, with a membership of about 1,000, and some forty or fifty others scattered over the state. In a letter to the Wheeling, West Virginia, *News-Letter,* the Exalted Cyclops announced that the Klan had been revived throughout eastern Ohio and boasted of cross burnings in a dozen communities. A two-column paid advertisement inserted by "reliable persons" in the Chambersburg *Public Opinion* of August 23 said in part: "Now, folks, you judge if there is any un-Americanism in the Klan. The Jews have their organizations, the Catholics theirs, and the Protestants have the Klan. We are here to stay, and God help America if we die." On September 9 the United Press reported Klan activity in fourteen states.

Even more alarming if less spectacular than these stories have been the evidences of mounting racial tension. On April 19 last the B'Nai B'rith reported increasing discrimination in employment and a marked rise in discriminatory advertisements. On the same day *PM* carried the report of Colonel Homer Garrison, Jr., director of the Department of Public Safety in Texas, stating that racial clashes had increased 900 per cent in 1945 over 1944. On May 1 the American Jewish Congress revealed that ads carrying discriminatory specifications had tripled in number in the Philadelphia press.

Public reaction to these events has been delayed and somewhat confused. Since some of the cross burnings were found to be the work of juvenile hoodlums, there was a tendency, encouraged by many officials, to write off all KKK incidents as unimportant. The setting up of a fiery cross, however, is a manifestation of the Klan spirit, whether the torch is lighted by an adult member or a juvenile hoodlum.

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THE OFFICIAL COUNTER-CAMPAIGN

Credit for initiating a counter-campaign, on an official basis, must go to Attorney General Robert W. Kenny of California. After a cross was burned at Big Bear, Mr. Kenny lost no time in bringing a successful court action to revoke the charter of the KKK in California. This is the necessary first step in any effort to outlaw the organization. In order to carry on its "racket," the Klan must have its name and legal standing protected: if a dozen different groups solicit funds and membership in the name of the KKK, the "take" is inevitably lessened. Loss of a corporate charter makes it impossible for any one group to monopolize the magic letters KKK. Mr. Kenny's prompt action was quickly followed by similar applications in Georgia; in New York, where the charter was revoked on July 30 and the names of 1,100 Klansmen turned over to the FBI; in Kentucky, where the charter was revoked on September 14; and in New Jersey. Official investigations have been launched in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

While this type of action has checked the reorganization of the Klan, it is by no means certain that the setback is more than temporary. It is noteworthy that the Klan has been most active in the South wherever trade-union organization drives, particularly the C. I. O.'s "Operation Dixie," are under way. A Birmingham industrialist who was interviewed by Harry T. Brundidge in the August *Cosmopolitan* said that hell was "already a-poppin'" in many towns in which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' drive was on. *The Covington County News* (Alabama) carried an open invitation to the citizenry to join the KKK in order "to Klean out the union organizers." Brundidge also found three organized Klaverns in St. Louis, where the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been active.

The federal government has moved even more slowly than it did after the First World War. Since the Wood-Rankin committee has announced that it does not intend to investigate the Klan, there should be action by the Treasury Department to collect delinquent taxes, an official Congressional inquiry, a daring use of the skeletonized remnants of the Civil Rights act, and a nation-wide investigation by the FBI. National opinion should be mobilized by an ambitiously planned and systematically promoted publicity campaign.

The immediate objective of such a campaign should be the restoration of law and order in the South. The wave of lawless beatings and shootings that is sweeping over the South, whether Klan-inspired or not, is the most dangerous symptom in American life today. Much of it has not been reported in the national press, but the Negro press has noted the steadily mounting violence —the blow-torch lynching of a Negro near Minden, Louisiana, on August 8; a Negro whipped to death at Lexington, Mississippi, on July 30; the uninvestigated lynching of two Negroes in Marshall, Texas; mob violence at Magee, Mississippi, on August 20; at Athens, Alabama, on August 10; at Crowley, Louisiana, on August 26; and at Florence, South Carolina, on September 19.

THE NEGRO VETERAN

Russ J. Cowans, in a series of articles from the South which have appeared in the Negro press, says that much of the trouble is caused by white resentment of the Negro veterans. These veterans, a Louisiana Negro told him, "enjoyed a freedom during the war that they had not enjoyed here in the South. They've come back home and they want to keep getting that freedom, but the white man here is just as determined to keep them from having it." Harold B. Hinton in a dispatch from Atlanta to the New York *Times* reported that Klan members were trying to find a basis of collaboration with veterans "in the specter of returned Negro war veterans getting out of their place."

It may be recalled that Senator Bilbo's speech in Jackson, Mississippi, on June 22, when he appealed to "red-blooded Anglo-Saxons" to bar Negroes from voting and said that "white men have the right to resort to any means at their command" to achieve this end, was prompted by the attempt of Elroy Fletcher, a Negro veteran with twenty-three months' service in the Pacific, to register. For this offense Fletcher, a G. I. student at Jackson College, was flogged with a heavy wire cable. It is the position of the Negro veteran, as seen against the background of the current trade-union drive and other industrial and cultural changes, that warrants the most serious apprehension about further violence in the South.

While the Klan's tactics are much the same as those used after the First World War, the objective situation in the South and in the whole country is by no means comparable to that which existed in the years 1922-24. Today Negroes are voting in sizable numbers even in Georgia and Texas; new organizations such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the C. I. O. are active in their behalf; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has discarded its traditional taboo against political action; the United States Supreme Court continues its gradual encirclement of Jim Crow with one important decision after another; indus-

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trial change has begun to undermine the whole structure of bourbonism in the South, and a large section of the white population is reported "cool" toward the Klan. The way in which national opinion recoiled from the frightful murders in Monroe, Georgia, was quite unlike the reaction to similar occurrences in the past. Moreover, the traditional alliance between the South and the West on racial questions has been severed: the FEPC was sponsored in the Senate by Dennis Chavez of New Mexico and Wayne Morse of Oregon.

A Christmas Amnesty

BY DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

WE AMERICANS, even the thoughtless, take-it-easy, insensitive ones among us, are very nearly distracted these days. During the war we were torn by anxiety and sorrow and fear, but we were not so oppressed by uncertainties as we are now—uncertainties about such life-and-death questions as how to handle the atomic bomb, how to organize the world for peace, how to find a way to live in peace (well, without war anyhow) with nations whose basic ideas don't jibe with ours.

But there is one question to which we know the right answer, in our hearts, at least. We know that we should free between 700 and 1,000 young Americans still in federal prison because their consciences would not let them take part in war, and restore their rights as citizens to the 5,300 others who have finished their prison terms as conscientious objectors. The penitentiary doors have shut behind them, but because they have a prison record they are not yet full and free citizens. Their professional or business life and their personal happiness must suffer from a continuing disability unless the President of the United States extends amnesty to these men, who, like Thoreau, felt that to obey the legal law was to break the moral law.

The C. O.'s have not committed a crime, nor are they the kind that is likely ever to commit a crime. They are thoughtful, earnest, idealistic young men who have proved their willingness to suffer for their ideals. We may not think that the means they used to forward the cause of peace was the most effective way to go about it, granted the situation of the world after Pearl Harbor. But practically all of us feel that the effort to attain peace is now the one cause for which every decent human being should be willing to make any sacrifice. To exclude from freedom and citizenship those who have gone to prison for that cause seems unbearably illogical.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER, novelist and critic, served in various volunteer capacities during both world wars—in the first war largely as a relief worker in France, in the second through her contributions to magazines and the O. W. I. Her only son, Captain James Canfield Fisher, was killed in action in Luzon.

Hundreds of clergymen, labor leaders, authors, artists, and other distinguished Americans have addressed amnesty appeals to the President. The Washington *Post*, the Chicago *Sun*, the New York *Times* have published editorials calling for an amnesty. The Synagogue Council of America, the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters, the American Veterans' Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, these and other groups have gone on record as "in favor of the release of all conscientious objectors from federal custody."

An overwhelming body of public opinion of this same kind exists outside America also. On August 15 the Canadian Minister of National Defense made an official announcement which amounted to a general amnesty for 14,000 men. Since the end of the war political prisoners have been freed in Brazil, Bulgaria, Greece, India, Italy, the Soviet Republic, and Yugoslavia. A year ago General MacArthur released about a million political prisoners in Japan, including conscientious objectors; and last August Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay proclaimed an amnesty for a million German political prisoners under twenty-seven years of age.

Why do we lag so far behind in America? Not because of a rigid tradition. On the contrary, nine American Presidents have availed themselves of their amnesty powers under the Constitution. George Washington was the first, when in 1795 he pardoned participants in the Whiskey Rebellion. And these were men who had actually borne arms against our government.

But we need not go so far back. A Supreme Court decision some months ago reversed the conviction of two young men who belonged to the organization of Jehovah's Witnesses. In his comment on this vital decision Justice Frank Murphy said, "All the war effort will have been in vain if, when all is finished, we discover that in the process we have destroyed the very freedom for which we fought."

The best of the 365 days in the year, the kindest of festivals, draws near. Shadowed with dark forebodings though it will be, Christmas, 1946, will have its hour of glory if on that day our government acts on the one moral certainty which almost all of us feel.

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The People's Front

LAST week's debate on the Spanish question at the United Nations revealed Great Britain and the United States as poor spiritual leaders of the democratic world. In a recent speech British Prime Minister Attlee charged that the Russians are using the U. N. as a propaganda instrument to discredit the Western democracies. But the angry observations of Mr. Molotov and the witty, caustic perorations of Mr. Vishinsky have done far less damage to Britain's good name than the speech delivered by its own delegate, Sir Hartley Shawcross, during the debate on Spain. To judge from comments I heard later in the corridors, his argument embarrassed even supporters of the Anglo-American position, while critics of the present British government openly rejoiced at the spectacle of a Labor Minister defending a bad cause in much the same language Alexander Cadogan has used. As for the Socialist delegates at the U. N., they felt deeply ashamed. Two weeks ago I promised to discuss in this page the causes of Socialist decline in Europe. I could easily base my whole analysis on quotations from Sir Hartley's speech. For in it was epitomized the whole record of the British Labor Party on foreign policy in the past eighteen months, which has done more than any one other thing to undermine the influence of the European Socialist movement.

The British Attorney General was very eloquent in his condemnation of Franco—almost as eloquent as he had been at Nürnberg in his indictment of the war criminals. One wonders, in retrospect, whether he would have pressed his case so vigorously at Nürnberg had the Soviet Union insisted on its indisputable right to put Franco in the dock along with the other defendants. (The Russians did not insist only because they wanted to avoid an issue that might have aggravated already existing frictions and perhaps prejudiced the conduct of the trial.) Yes, Sir Hartley was ruthlessly explicit in his denunciation of the Spanish dictator; yet when elementary logic called for the condign punishment of a criminal such as he described, the British delegate ended with a plea for clemency, largely on the ground that a break with Franco would deprive Britain of orange juice.

The Thirteen Points which constituted the program of the Republican government during the Spanish war did not, it is true, specifically provide for shipments of Valencia oranges to England. But the Attorney General and his Labor friends might reasonably assume that a government capable of eliminating the present economic chaos in Spain should be better able to promote trade between the two countries.

Senator Connally used his rhetorical gifts to subtract further from the meaning of the American proposal, which was already 50 per cent meaningless. The first part of the resolution offered by this country was a forthright attack on the Franco regime; the second half was confused and contradictory—because it was meant to be confused and contradictory: a hymn sung to the Munich tune of non-intervention with an obbligato on the theme of a clerical-military regime along lines approved by Washington, London, and the Vatican.

In a magnificent speech that went beyond the limits of the Spanish problem to examine the whole international situation, Léon Jouhaux, the French labor leader, ripped away the fabric of untruth and hypocrisy which cloaks the Anglo-American policy toward Spain. He served a warning that should be pondered seriously by diplomats here and in Britain: if the masses of the world—and Jouhaux was surely thinking of the French workers as he spoke—see that the U. N. is incapable of fulfilling its obligations, they will take into their own hands the task of helping to restore democracy in Spain. Nothing in the repeated statements of the American and British delegates sounded more insincere than their pious desires to avoid "civil strife and chaos" in Spain. In fact, it has been the Anglo-American strategy of supporting Franco with action while repudiating him with words which has produced the civil strife and chaos that rule in Spain today. As Léon Jouhaux said, "You talk of avoiding another civil war; you seem to forget that the civil war in Spain has never ended, that Franco means continuing civil war. You talk of avoiding international complications; by preventing the U. N. from accomplishing its duty, you will cause Spain to be transferred into a battleground of antagonistic nations." This was equally true in 1939, and the diplomats who precipitated World War II are today laying the groundwork for World War III.

Unable to answer the solid argument of Ambassador Oscar Lange of Poland for severance of diplomatic relations, the speakers who followed him, particularly the Latin American delegates, turned to an involved historical discussion of the non-intervention principle. But they received a verbal thrashing from Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Panama's Foreign Minister, who exposed the thesis advanced by Connally and his Latin American disciples as a shameful pretext for continued support of Franco. Dr. Alfaro, Pedro Zuloaga of Venezuela, Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, Jorge Garcia Granados and Vicente Saenz of Guatemala, and the delegates of Chile and Uruguay managed to save the prestige of the Latin American republics. But if the Good Neighbor countries had, from the beginning, more strongly resisted Washington's pressure, the whole discussion on Spain might have taken a very different turn. Nevertheless, after three days of heated debate, the Anglo-American attempt to "drown the political aspects of the case in a sea of juridical interpretations and definitions," as Mr. Gromyko described it, failed. In spite of Anglo-American opposition, a subcommittee was appointed to seek a unanimous formula for action.

In this debate Great Britain and the United States have forfeited whatever authority they may have claimed until now to speak for the Western democracies. When next they address a note to the Rumanian or Bulgarian or Polish government protesting against undemocratic procedures, those countries will certainly reply, "You had better look first to your own record on Spain."

DEL VAYO

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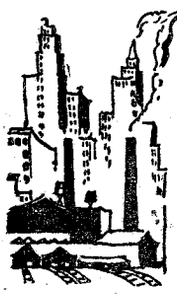

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Britain's Export Drive

AN AMERICAN business man just back from England recently remarked at a press conference that the British people were getting tired of "austerity." Of course they are: the kind of austerity they have been enduring for the past six years is nobody's idea of fun. But while there is a certain amount of grumbling, there seems to be a broad understanding in Britain of the absolute necessity for continuing restraints on consumption. It is realized that the abolition of rationing, for instance, would mean a breakdown in the price-control system. That might bring about an appearance of plenty in the stores, but it would be a plenty available only to the moneyed few; the masses would suffer greater hardships than at present. A major virtue of the British war-time controls has been their assurance of a fair distribution of necessities to all, irrespective of income. That is why, on the whole, they have been accepted cheerfully.

What has been harder to take in the past year has been the priority given to exports. All sorts of goods which are in extremely short supply in Britain are being shipped abroad by government order. American department stores display large quantities of fine British china, while the only kind of cups and plates that can be bought in Britain is the plain white "utility" variety. It is a similar story with many other sorts of consumer goods from penknives to automobiles; despite an almost unlimited home demand a large proportion of the output is being set aside for export.

Naturally enough, the British woman without sufficient ration "points" to buy a new dress, even if she could find one in the stores, feels a little sore when she sees pictures in the papers of magnificent gowns labeled "for export only." Yet Britons have so long lived by foreign trade that they have an almost instinctive grasp of the reasons why so much production must be diverted to foreign markets. The housewife buying New Zealand lamb, Danish butter, Canadian bacon, California canned peaches, Alaska salmon, cannot fail to be aware of the extent to which she depends on overseas products; the worker in the factory handling Texas cotton, or Swedish wood pulp, or Moroccan iron ore, or Rhodesian copper, or Australian wool knows that his job hangs on a steady flow of foreign raw materials. But such goods have to be paid for, and Britain's ability to finance imports was severely reduced during the war, first, by the liquidation of foreign investments which produced an annual income of some $400,000,000, and second, by the contraction of foreign debts the repayment of which will impose a heavy charge on external income for many years to come.

If Britain is to meet its obligations and to pay for its pre-war volume of imports, it must sell vastly more goods to the world than before the war. The only alternative would be to cut down its expenditure on imported goods, which means in effect, since few of these commodities are or can be produced at home in sufficient quantities, resigning itself to a permanently lower standard of living. Britain has chosen to solve the problem by expanding exports even though, at first, that requires skimping the home market for the benefit of foreign customers. The government's economic advisers have estimated that it will be necessary to raise the volume of exports to 175 per cent of the 1938 volume.

This is an ambitious goal, but since the end of the war considerable progress has been made toward it. Taking 1938 as 100, the export index figure for the first quarter of this year was 84, for the second, 97.6, and for the third, 104. Preliminary returns for the month of October indicate an export volume about 17 per cent above the 1938 monthly average. The extent of this achievement is best appreciated by recalling that during the war British exports fell to under 30 per cent of their 1938 volume. "Our total overseas deficit," Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, told the House of Commons on November 26, "is likely, in terms of sterling, to be substantially less when this financial year has run its course. This reflects great credit on the export drive, which has succeeded beyond expectation and beyond estimate."

In some quarters, however, fears have been expressed that the upward curve is beginning to level off. Certainly a great many obstacles have yet to be surmounted. One of the most serious is a shortage of steel, since it tends to cut down production of machinery and vehicles, which are among the most rapidly expanding exports. The present rate of British steel production is around 12,700,000 ingot tons per annum, which is near capacity, while effective domestic demand could absorb 16,000,000 tons. Hopes that imports, particularly from this country, would fill the gap have been disappointed, and now the coal strike postpones to a still more distant date the time when our steel will be available.

An even more formidable problem is the shortage of man-power in Britain. This is the main reason why such former export staples as coal, cottons, and woolens today make a very poor showing in the trade returns. In 1937, 53 per cent of Britain's production of cotton piece goods went abroad; today there is a worldwide unsatisfied demand for cloth, but after providing for minimum home needs only 16 per cent of the output can be spared for exports. The reason for this situation is not shortage of raw material but the drift of textile workers to more lucrative or pleasanter occupations. And with almost every industry clamoring for more labor, it is not easy to arrest this movement.

With Britain's total working population, after deducting the armed forces, more than a million less than before the war, it is fairly obvious that only through greater productivity will it be possible to turn out the additional exports required and at the same time to meet home needs, including the vast demand for houses. To this end the Labor government is supplementing its export drive with a production drive and is covering the hoardings with the slogan: "Extra Effort Now Means Better Living Sooner." The question is whether a tired people, lacking the emotional stimulus provided by the threat of invasion, is capable of that extra effort unless some additional incentive is provided. It may be that, in the long run, the export drive would benefit by the release of more goods for the home market.

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IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

IN THE flood of mail pouring in, I find various formulations of an extremely provocative question. I will quote a few of them and then attempt an answer.

Dear Sir: What has become of John W. Vandercook? I hope he was not put off the air because of his progressive views?
Hollywood B. S., JR.

Dear Sir: Orson Welles was suddenly dropped as a commentator by ABC, and right in the midst of his campaign for the apprehension and trial of the South Carolina police official who had beaten and blinded a Negro veteran. Welles was extremely popular here. The cancelation of his program brought a deluge of telephone calls to the station and a pile of letters to the radio editor of the Cleveland *Press*. My own hunch is that the networks do not care for the red-blooded type of crusading done by Welles. Robert St. John's dismissal strengthens my belief.
Cleveland E. S. N.

Dear Sir: As the special West Coast edition of *The Nation* stated, liberal commentators have been completely kept off the air in this area. Sam Balter has disappeared; James Roosevelt has had no commercial sponsor for weeks; Alvin Wilder has disappeared from his weekly evening spot; Frank Kingdon was scheduled for a daily fifteen-minute evening program on KFWB but never came on; Averill Berman is struggling along with no commercial sponsor; and now even Raymond Swing has been dropped. This, I feel, is the most severe blow that has yet been dealt to the listening public.
Santa Monica L.

Numerous other listeners and readers are upset about the swing to the right in radio. There are three reasons for it: First, the political trend of the nation is to the right, as the recent election shows. Second, radio is reacting to the change in political temperature. Third, the popularity ratings of the commentators reflect the political shift; consequently the networks, which by nature are in sympathy with the thinking and desires of the conservative camp, are not hesitant about dropping the progressive spokesmen.

There is one other factor in this reshuffle of the commentators. Radio today is reverting to the lack-luster, non-controversial type of news coverage of the period before the New Deal. In those days about the only personalities in radio news were the late Floyd Gibbons and Walter Winchell. Executives leaned over backward to keep their news coverage straight. Then, as the political tempo of the nation speeded up under the New Deal, news broadcasting took on more color, and personality journalism came on the air. There were liberals and conservatives and middle-of-the-roaders among these commentators just as there are now—except that now there are fewer liberals.

What can be done about it? In order to influence the FCC literally thousands of persons must write to it and to their favorite station and network as well. Say something like this: "I want to hear the liberal viewpoint on my air. Give us liberals and progressives in at least the same proportion as the vote in the last election." The idea is to capitalize on radio's responsibility to minorities by arguing that while liberals are now a minority, they are not so infinitesimal a minority as the number of liberal commentators in proportion to the conservative.

But remember this: be realistic; don't expect liberal commentators to stay on the air if people don't listen to them.

One more letter:

Dear Sir: It was high time! Lou Frankel's column can do a lot of good; not all radio executives are morons, and not all are sunk in greedy commercialism. We may achieve valuable reforms by means of publicity, appeal to common sense, and persistent moral pressure.

I'm writing this brief note to urge you to insist on two reasonable concessions by the radio chains and stations.

1. Let the ads for the sponsors precede and/or follow the program, whatever it is—lecture, news, music, debate. No interruptions, please, in the middle. Two ads should satisfy any sponsor. The interruptions are nuisances, and very offensive ones. They do not pay. We get mad and boycott the offender.

2. The radio chains give us very little chamber music, though it is eminently suitable. Thousands of music lovers are thus deprived of a pleasure which radio, if intelligently managed, could bring them. "There's no money in it"—therefore sponsors for chamber music are hardly to be expected. Still, a few sustaining programs of good chamber music would not bankrupt our chains.
Chicago VICTOR S. YARROS

My reply is that the middle commercial will not be removed until radio presents a solid front to the advertisers. This in turn will not happen until research shows a majority of listeners antagonistic to middle commercials. Right now both the advertiser and the broadcaster know, from detailed surveys, that the practice is not unpalatable to most of the audience. However, not all advertisers present their interruptions with the same deft touch. When enough listeners are annoyed by blatant midway announcements, the practice will cease.

The presentation of chamber music, so far as the networks are concerned, is a case of satisfying thousands at the expense of millions. Look to your local stations for the more specialized programs such as chamber music. Talk up, write, ask for it, and you will get it.

WORTH HEARING

ARTHUR GODFREY'S TALENT SCOUTS (CBS, Tuesdays). The humor and humanness of Godfrey, new faces, and none of the sanctimoniousness of the late Major Bowes.

HARVEST OF STARS (NBC, Sundays). Good music by Frank Black and good singing by James Melton, plus restrained commercials.

CLEVELAND SYMPHONY (MBS, Saturdays). Relax for an hour after dinner.

TIME FOR REASON (CBS, Sundays). Paley's network goes to bat for radio. Must listening for every critic of radio.

DREW PEARSON (ABC, Sundays). Has a voice that grates, but his material measures up to his column.

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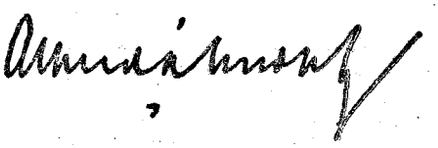
The *Nation* has included seventeen Borzoi Books in its selection of Outstanding Books of 1946. You will find each of the seventeen described on these pages, and they can all be examined at your leisure at any good bookshop.

I believe several forthcoming Borzoi Books will also be of interest to you. If you will send me your name and address, I will arrange for you to receive our catalogue of books to be published between January and April, 1947, as well as occasional news bulletins regarding Borzoi Books.



WHILE TIME REMAINS

by Leland Stowe. The author of *They Shall Not Sleep* and *No Other Road to Freedom*, "an American fully acquainted with world affairs . . . undertakes to spell out the broad implications of the Atomic Age. His book will jolt complacency."—*Atlantic Monthly*. $3.50

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by John Hersey. The internationally famous story of six survivors of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. "Nothing that can be said about the book can equal what the book has to say. It speaks for itself and, in an unforgettable way, for humanity."
—*New York Times Book Review*. $1.75

NOT SO WILD A DREAM

by Eric Sevareid. In this brilliant personal history Sevareid speaks for his entire generation. "There has been, I suspect, no such an autobiographical analysis of an American's education since Henry Adams made his own."—*Chicago Sun*. $3.50

THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES

A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRAZILIAN CIVILIZATION

by Gilberto Freyre. "Of general interest to anyone . . . written with the literary skill usually associated with the novel."—*New York Herald Tribune Book Review*.
Translated, unabridged, from the Portuguese, by Samuel Putnam. $7.50

THE GERMAN PEOPLE

THEIR HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION FROM THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE THIRD REICH

by Veit Valentin. "A former German liberal historian of high repute offers what may become the standard history of the German people for years to come."
—*New York Herald Tribune*. Illus. $6.00

THE COMMON SENSE OF THE EXACT SCIENCES

by William Kingdon Clifford. A new edition of the classic exposition for the layman of modern scientific and mathematical thought. With a preface by Bertrand Russell and a biographical and critical introduction by James R. Newman. 130 diagrams. $4.00

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THE STRANGER

by Albert Camus. "A powerful, moving story, telling of the fate which befalls an average man who refuses to conceal his feelings behind the conventional pretenses of his fellowmen. Written by one of France's major living novelists, excellently translated."—*Publishers' Weekly*. Translated by STUART GILBERT. $2.00

FRENCH LITERATURE AND ITS MASTERS

by George Saintsbury. The great English critic's famous *Encyclopædia Britannica* essays. "One of the best introductions to French literature that has ever been written in our language."
—*New York Times Book Review*. $3.00

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AND OTHER STORIES

by Elizabeth Bowen. The first book of fiction in five years by one of England's greatest writers. "In her new book she deals with original problems in such complete control of her art that she is herself a standard figure in contemporary fiction."
—*New York Times Book Review*. $2.50

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—*New Yorker*. $3.00

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by Rudi Blesh. "For the first full story of jazz read Mr. Blesh's passionate and scholarly book . . . a diverting and monumental work."—VIRGIL THOMSON, *New York Herald Tribune*. Illustrated. $5.00

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Dialectic of the Thaw

THE SHORT NOVELS OF TOLSTOY. Translated by Aylmer Maude. Selected with an Introduction by Philip Rahv. The Dial Press. $4.

FOR about half a century Tolstoy has been for many idealistic people a kind of one-man National Academy representing top standards in such departments as Letters, Philosophy, Religion, Politics, Domestic Affairs. On the other hand, for much the same reasons he has appeared to lovers of a more formal art as a busybody of genius who spoiled the effect of noble descriptive passages with his theories and moralizing. Were his scene-painting and ideas all there is to Tolstoy we could abandon him forever to the controversies of these two camps.

There is, however, a dialectical life in Tolstoy that makes it impossible to pass him by either as a monument or a corner preacher. Drawing on one of his most famous chapters, we might call it the dialectic of the thaw. What happens in Tolstoy's world is that a static social structure has been formed, hard as ice or a bureaucrat's routine, and made up of innumerable commonplaces; then something attacks this structure from within or without, undoes its joints, and threatens to disintegrate it into a mass of debris; the old form resists; and finally the enemy retires and a healing begins with a new burst of life and hope. You find this movement, or part of it, in the large novels and in all of the eight shorter ones gathered in the present collection.

Thus Tolstoy builds his art out of two systems of elements —the details of social and natural life which constitute normal existence, and the movement from the "outside" which invades the normal. As an observer of the normal, Tolstoy ranks with the best of naturalists. But what is most magnificent is his tenacity in following the fate of the invading movement—whether it be Napoleon's army, or the slow opening out of the emotions of the lovers in "Family Happiness" until they cover all routines like a flood, then ebb and turn inward, dividing into sluggish streams and at length drying up, while the shapes of the social begin to emerge again in their separateness; or the coming of the pain that nudges into Ivan Ilyich's side and turns him on his proud magistrate's seat, then sinks away, only to return again and again, more furious, suddenly almost vanishes, but inexorably appears once more, until it becomes the very substance of Ilyich's existence and he can only howl in anguish for three whole days and die.

The relation between the conservative social organism and the outsider who comes into it, more or less violently, provides the terms of Tolstoy's values and his speculations on the good life. Even in the early "Two Hussars" the issue is the different effects of the arrival of father and son in the same provincial village. In "The Cossacks" and "Hadji Murad," which would otherwise be pure "noble-savage" documentaries, Tolstoy tests the communes of the Caucasus against the Russian occupying troops. He admires the native *aoul* for successfully resisting the foreigners quartered on it, just as he admires the serf Nikita for his resistance to the conditions that drive his more "civilized" master to madness and destruction. In this capacity to resist the strange which he finds in the primitive and the passive lies the ground of much of Tolstoy's thinking on different levels—his military conceptions, his antagonism to medicine and science in general, his mystique of the organic, his archaism.

The thoroughly doomed are those whose flesh and spirit are grown into the dead substance of polite society. "Ivan Ilyich's life had been most simple and most ordinary and therefore most terrible." Had Tolstoy been capable of creating a literary form exactly equivalent to the quality of petrified life he imagined for Ilyich, his hero would have turned into some sort of monster, as in Kafka's "Metamorphosis" or "The Burrow," both of which, despite Philip Rahv's contention in his preface that "the theme of death is absent in Kafka," deal with the same final invasion of a structuralized life as "The Death of Ivan Ilyich."

Yet Tolstoy will not permit the victims of convention to escape their living death either through personal passion or through becoming outsiders themselves. Like Anna Karenina, the hero of "The Devil" is destroyed by an outlaw love affair. Tolstoy's norm is always the social, even when he rejects a particular society as hostile to life. And this fact suggests the limits of Tolstoy as a writer and the explanation of why in all matters he needs to play the prophet. It accounts also for his enormous official popularity in the U. S. S. R., where all values are social values.

That, absorbed in the onslaught of the destructive outsider, Tolstoy never forgets the image of the normal, the value of normal living, makes him seem more "whole" and "healthy" than writers like Dostoevski or Kafka, who "distort" the normal or even eliminate it altogether. But this "wholeness" can be looked at another way. Since the society that Tolstoy is describing is actually disintegrating, the individual who lives most fully is already, like Tolstoy himself or his revolutionary contemporaries, mostly outside the social norm. But Tolstoy refuses to deal with this fuller man projecting hugely out of society. He prefers to look back from the superior height of his own "revolution" upon the social organism and those who are still stifling in it, and condemn and instruct them. Thus instead of Dostoevski's "geniuses" and suffering isolated men, who really represent the dynamics of modern life, he gives us abstract social types who do not so much feel as they are carried away by feelings.

Since he never gets beyond the socially given, Tolstoy ought not to be regarded, as he is by Chestov and others, as a philosopher of life and death. Neither "The Death of Ivan Ilyich" nor "Master and Man" actually deals with the situation of humanity in the face of death, but with an extreme criticism of conventional life, the life of the special type committed to success in social terms, who is much more

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What terror stalked a hidden beach?

This was a night that terror walked among men.

Dread fear prowled among twelve-hundred people huddled on a lonely beach — laid a cold finger on their lips, commanding, *"Silence! Be still! No talking, there!*

And twelve-hundred travelers out of Hell were silent. Silent as death.

But their eyes looked out to the sea.

Where was the ship? The ship that Haganah had promised . . . had brought them here to meet. The ship that meant freedom from hate and terror and living death. *Where was the ship?*

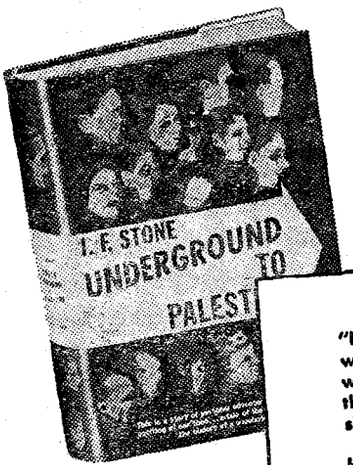
And their eyes looked back to the mountains, rising in huge, dark shapes against the sky.

Were the carabinieri coming? Did those dark hills hide the police . . . with men in uniforms, and guns, and orders to block the road to freedom? How soon would *they* come marching out of the night? *"Oh, God, where is the ship Haganah promised"?*

WHAT IS HAGANAH? WHO ARE THESE GAMBLERS WITH DEATH AND TERROR? READ

UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE

by **I. F. STONE** Famous newspaper correspondent



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frenzied than most men in holding on to existence, and who even when the end comes sees it through the eyes of his author not as an inescapable fate but as a *lesson* on how to live better. ". . . Worse than the physical sufferings were his [Ilyich's] mental sufferings which were his chief torture. . . . 'What if my whole life has really been wrong?'" As if Ilyich could, as Tolstoy *says*, have avoided dying had he lived properly.

By his translations of extreme human situations into social problems which he could solve Tolstoy consistently betrays his themes and emerges as the great sectarian. On no account will he admit himself baffled by beauty or by tragedy—deliberately he makes himself the ally of the practical man against all the uncommunicative chimeras of art from "Oedipus" to "Hamlet." If Tolstoy is "whole" and "healthy" it is in contrast not only with the "morbid" modern artists but with art itself, and even with life itself. Neither Homer nor the Old Testament is so healthy as Tolstoy, since the gods and fates that "sicken" the epic world cannot always be managed by formulas for right living.

HAROLD ROSENBERG

FICTION IN REVIEW

THE jacket of Robert M. Coates's "The Bitter Season" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50) is misleading when it tells us that this is a novel about how men who were a "little too old or a little too frail to be warriors" felt about their exclusion from war service. Actually it is a novel about all of us in war time as we are seen by Mr. Coates's narrator and as this one person is representative of a broad segment of civilian life. The novel's protagonist is a painter-writer, a typical decent, thoughtful product of his century, who came to maturity—or supposed he did—in the period following the First World War. Now, in the midst of another war, he finds himself very little farther than where he started in both his personal life and the life of his country. The parallel between his narrator's personal history and the history of our times is Mr. Coates's means of tracing some of the antecedents and possible consequences of the present condition of the world; through the eyes of this sensitive observer of human behavior in a period of stress Mr. Coates attempts to assess the society that makes and is made by war. It is a large fictional undertaking, larger than the effort to analyze the state of mind of people unfit for military duty—though this too, of course, would be a good subject for a novel—and if Mr. Coates is not wholly successful in it he at least deserves the credit of his attempt.

The failure of "The Bitter Season" to be equal to its intention is chiefly due, I think, to the confusion of its method; and this in turn seems to me to be due to Mr. Coates's lack of confidence in the power of a fictional incident to communicate more than it may superficially appear to. Thus Mr. Coates's personal narrative not only follows no time sequence but is constantly interrupted for philosophical asides and for quick sketches of war-time habits and manners. And even these contemporary social observations are so crowded and handled so fancily that their import is lost; it is only with a certain effort that one realizes that a single principal thread—the thread, and threat, of suppressed or only half-suppressed violence in our most ordinary human encounters—runs through all of them. There are few current novelists who see the small business of life—how bartenders and bar customers, waiters, taxi drivers and bus conductors act and talk—with Mr. Coates's accuracy and intelligence, which makes it all the more regrettable that "The Bitter Season" is not a better job of dramatic distillation.

Jerome Weidman's "Too Early to Tell" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3) is about the undisciplined goings-on in a bureau of psychological warfare which its author does not call the OWI. It bears very little relation to Mr. Weidman's earlier novels. Certainly one never thought to be able to accuse the author of "I Can Get It for You Wholesale" of dulness, of lack of narrative flair, of spreading himself transparently thin, of—in short—sweating out a novel. It is true that because Mr. Weidman's bureaucrats and other civil-service types are not particularly attractive people "Too Early to Tell" has been easily labeled another of his usual caustic efforts. But this is to look for trouble where for this reader any kind of trouble would have been preferable to tedium.

The literary case of Mr. Weidman interests me very much. Never a major talent or even the promise of one, if only because his imagination has so limited a range, Mr. Weidman has yet seemed to me one of the quirkily arresting writers of our time who have received a peculiarly bad deal from the critics. I have the impression, in fact, that he has been singled out as whipping boy for the bad conscience of a literary period sanctified to the doing of good works. The notable instance is the outraged response that has greeted his writing about Jews. Conspicuously ignoring the question whether the characters in his earlier novels were faithful representations of a section of the Jewish population, Mr. Weidman's critics have taken the attitude that Mr. Weidman himself was as wicked as the people he described just because he described them, that practically single-handed he was bringing Hitlerism to America. The result of this kind of moral pressure was that, in his novel called "The Lights Around the Shore," Mr. Weidman sublimated a group of obviously Jewish characters into Gentiles, thus robbing them of an important reality, and that in his newest novel he touches virtually no reality at all. Present-day liberalism, in all its astigmatism and self-righteousness, has many large cultural as well as political sins to account for at the Day of Judgment; I am not saying that its pressure upon one minor literary figure is among the largest of them. But I do feel that the unofficial censorship of Mr. Weidman cannot properly be overlooked if we are to understand the relation of politics and literature in our time.

"The Liberators" by Wesley Towner (A. A. Wyn, $2.75) is a pedestrian but thoroughly earnest, decent study of the problems of the occupation of Germany. While I cannot recommend it as a work of fiction, I can recommend it as an unusually enlightened and honest report on our conduct in victory, rather a relief after such sentimental fantasies as "A Bell for Adano."

If you have been puzzled by announcement of the publication of "The Memorial" by Christopher Isherwood (New Directions), you might want to know that this is an early novel published in England in 1932.

DIANA TRILLING

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BRIEFER COMMENT

The War

IT IS CERTAINLY too early to write a definitive interpretative history of the war that shall be both a vigorous treatise on the controlling social processes and an accurate and comprehensive account of the military campaigns. To trace the operation of causes implies selection, fulness here and condensation there, and much speculative effort. Nevertheless, Professor Hall's "Iron out of Calvary" (Appleton-Century, $4) will be an extremely useful book to those whose interest in the war is not primarily military.

Professor Hall, a liberal historian, prefaces his account with a quite objective survey of the confusion out of which the war developed. In his view the three principal phenomena of that confusion are economic maladjustment, intensified nationalism, and a steady loss of confidence in the liberal heritage of the nineteenth century. The association of capitalism and democracy had been weakened and its validity called in doubt by unmanageable economic crises. The result was that new authority principles attracted many followers. In this state of confusion the desire for peace as often as not worked in the interest of war. While radical thinkers on the right and left worked vigorously for peace on their own terms, or for war in behalf of their aims, great masses of people lost their nerve or suffered a repressive frustration of their energies.

The narrative section of this book is very good indeed. Professor Hall possesses great powers of organization and a sense of proportion; his book contains an immense amount of significant fact. One of its merits is that it deals in some fulness with the political and social measures that were taken by the various governments in support of their war effort. And the book is written vigorously but does not draw its vigor from journalistic devices.

Yet it is not improper to suggest that the criticism given above applies even to the historical part. Professor Hall is a liberal Democrat. He is not a mere partisan of the social and power aims of any one of the great powers. Yet he does not sufficiently weigh that view of the war which Russian thinkers once called "the theory of Parallel War." That British and even American strategy differed from Russian strategy he is fully aware, but he does not adequately relate this awareness to the phenomena he describes so well. It would be unfair to press this criticism too far, however, and one's final opinion must be that this is the history of the war that, to date, *Nation* readers will find most useful.

RALPH BATES

Poems

IN WRITING ABOUT "A Little Treasury of Modern Poetry (Edited by Oscar Williams, Scribner's, $2.75) it is easy to be hard on Mr. Williams. He asks for it by writing introductions full of pompous and affected half-truths, such as, "When a poet promulgates the sensuous pleasures he is no less moral than when he paints the hope of heaven or reveals the truth of tragedy. To be on the side of life is to be moral." He asks for it by including nine of his own poems, presumably on the ground that each of them "gave me that experience which I have learned comes as a reaction to reading a true poem." He asks for it by including, on this ground, a careful selection from the works of such other distinguished poets as Sarah Cleghorn, Timothy Corsellis, H. H. Lewis, and Shamus O'Sheel. It is easy to be hard on Mr. Williams, and, up to a point, quite right. No good book would include any of these things; mere common sense would exclude most of them.

But there is another side to Mr. Williams's book which ought also to be noticed. There may be defects in his taste and deficiencies in his common sense, but I would guess that his devotion to poetry is very real; there is an earnestness about him when he is talking of such things as "promulgating the sensuous pleasures" which convinces you in spite of the absurdity; and—what is after all the main point of a book like this—there are more good poems by more good twentieth-century poets here than in any other book of the kind.

For all its occasional foolishness and minor irritants, its curious notions about what is light verse and what is not, its refusal to arrange the poems in any reasonable order, its photographs of the poets, its dust-jacket account of how well-known a poet Mr. Williams is (with a photograph), this is the best single collection of twentieth-century poetry you can get right now. Scribner's have made it a handsome little book, too.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Meat

LIKE THE OLD FORD, Stefansson in his "Not by Bread Alone" (Macmillan, $3.50) rambles, rambles right along. In the midst of all these "meat" discussions, we have discourses on the Stone Age man, the dentist, scurvy, pemmican, and so on. There is much of interest to the anthropologist when Stefansson deals with customs among the Eskimos; there is little of importance to the scientist when he discusses necessary foods. Just as Hindhede became notorious by his advocacy of low-protein diets, so Stafansson has been pushed to the forefront because he is all out for meat eating. At least, so I thought until I came on this passage in the book (page 52): "These months on fish were the beginning of several years during which I lived on an exclusive meat diet. For I include fish when I speak of living on meat, using 'meat' and 'meat diet' as if I were a teacher of anthropology rather than an editor of a housekeeping magazine. The term in this book, and in like scientific discussions based on my work, refers to a diet from which all things of the vegetable kingdom are absent."

In the light of this strange definition of a "meat diet," it merely remains to be added that the Committee on Foods and Nutrition of the National Research Council would approve of such a diet *provided* fruits, vegetables, and cereals were included. And with all due respect to the estimable author, the collective opinion of the best brains in the field of nutrition—based as such opinion is on (a) experimental findings, (b) enormous statistical data, (c) war experiences, (d) army needs—more than counterweighs Stefansson's prejudices.

BENJAMIN HARROW

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Books of 1946: A Selected List

BELLES-LETTRES

The Old Country. By Sholom Aleichem. Crown. $3.
Joy. By Georges Bernanos. Pantheon Books. $2.75.
Do I Wake or Sleep. By Isabel Bolton. Dutton. $2.50.
Ivy Gripped the Steps and Other Stories. By Elizabeth Bowen. Knopf. $2.50.
The Stranger. By Albert Camus. Knopf. $2.
The Bitter Box. By Eleanor Clark. Doubleday. $2.50.
King Jesus. By Robert Graves. Creative Age. $3.
We Happy Few. By Helen Howe. Simon and Schuster. $2.75. (First half.)
Thieves in the Night. By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. $2.75.
The Sudden Guest. By Christopher La Farge. Coward-McCann. $2.50.
Woman of the Pharisees. By François Mauriac. Holt. $2.50.
The Street. By Ann Petry. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.
Passage from Home. By Isaac Rosenfeld. Dial. $2.50.
David the King. By Gladys Schmitt. Dial. $3.
States of Grace. By Francis Steegmuller. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.
All the King's Men. By Robert Penn Warren. Harcourt, Brace. $3.
Memoirs of Hecate County. By Edmund Wilson. Doubleday. $2.50.

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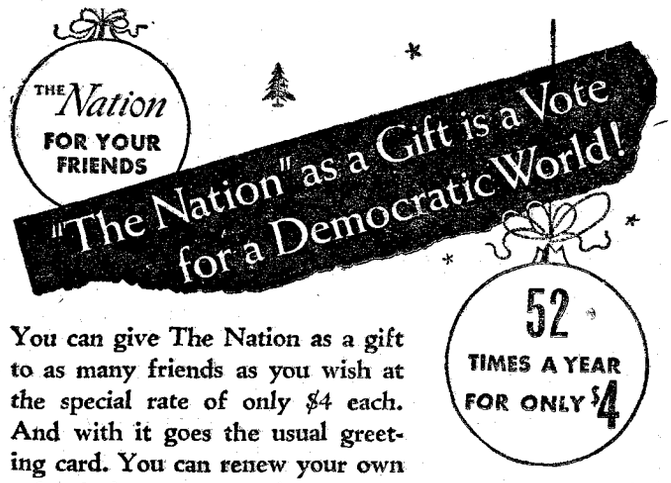

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"NO EXIT" (Biltmore Theater) is the English version of a phenomenally successful French play by Jean-Paul Sartre, high priest of existentialism. The scene is hell, the running time only a little over an hour and a quarter, and the total effect that of a rather ingenious shocker of a sort which would not have been out of place on the program at the Grand Guignol a generation ago. Three people—a Lesbian, a male collaborationist, and an American playgirl who murdered her child—find themselves after death shut up together in a hotel room. They enter at once upon a brief cycle of disputation in the course of which each manages to torture the other; then, as the cycle begins to repeat itself exactly, the curtain goes down. The three, it is evident, will pass eternity going over the same painful ground again, and again, and again. Since they will never sleep, hell, as one of them says, is merely life with no time off.

Of existentialism I know only what I read in the papers—including *The Nation*. It is, I have been told on various occasions, the theology of Kirkegaard with God left out; the conviction that though the world is both evil and without meaning nothing much can be done about it; and, finally, the determination to reject society while acting as an atomic individual. So far as I can see, it neatly combines the disadvantages of religious faith with those of nihilistic atheism. It seems, in other words, to assert moral responsibility while at the same time insisting that virtue has no reward, and it thus enables M. Sartre to revive the ancient proclamation, "There is no God and I am his prophet." But if this summary is inadequate, the fact is of no great importance at the moment, since no more—indeed hardly that much—could be deduced from the present play, whose virtues and limitations are obvious enough even to a spectator who has received no previous indoctrination.

Chief among the virtues is a genuinely macabre quality which makes itself felt most effectively during the first fifteen minutes, when the central conception is being presented and the atmosphere of horror being established. The ugly room, furnished in rather expensive bad taste and hideously lit by an unshielded chandelier in the ceiling, is just small enough to generate in the spectator a disconcerting claustrophobia, and as the victims are introduced one after another we share to some real extent both their nervous apprehension and the horror with which they realize the implications of their situation. Baudelaire talked about the *frisson nouveau*, and though it is no longer exactly new the shiver or thrill can still be provoked. Unfortunately, like most plays based upon a conception which can be effectively stated in a few words, "No Exit" suffers from the fact that the interest tends to decline steadily from the moment when the conception has been grasped and the playwright begins to try to fill in with sufficient material to stretch the action out beyond playlet length. In the present instance the revelation at the very end that the action is to repeat itself exactly through all eternity does provide an effective curtain, but up to that moment the tension has been going down rather than up, and there is no very good reason why the whole should not have been presented in half the short time now given it.

The popular French actor Claude Dauphin, who has been brought over to undertake the leading male role, gives a very effective if necessarily unpleasant performance as the bad-tempered, cowardly, neurotic, and self-despising collaborationist. Indeed, he seems to feel and transmit the emotions called for to a degree never approached by Annabella and Ruth Ford, who play competently enough the other two principal parts. But not even the genuineness of his performance can conceal the fact that the main action itself is not very different from that of a sensational triangle play as, let us say, Bourdet or even Bernstein might have written it. It is one thing to say that hell will merely be life lived eternally and without respite. It is another to illustrate that statement by an action not essentially different from one which has been presented many times by dramatists who were saying merely that life is sometimes hell, not—what is really quite different—that hell is life.

To compare the reaction of an American audience with what is said to be the reaction of Parisians is to realize how much the success of the play in France must be the result of the special state of the post-war mind. Here it was being discussed during the one brief intermission merely as a *tour de force*, a sensational novelty; there it obviously means something to a population whose pessimism has become not so much an intellectual conviction as a neurotic derangement. Existentialism would appear to be less a philosophy than a state of mind, and less a state of mind than a state of nerves. "Hell," said Shelley, "is a city much like London," but that does not make Shelley an existentialist, for the simple reason that he was neither cold, nor hungry, nor defeated. And the difference makes the artistic as well as philosophical difference between "Peter Bell, III," and "No Exit."

Films

JAMES AGEE

[This is the concluding section of Mr. Agee's review of "The Best Years of Our Lives." The first half was printed last week.]

IT SEEMS to me that the movie's basic weaknesses are in the script—or are, more likely, in the writer's knowledge of all that he would have to go easy on as a part of the rather remarkable bargain by which he got away with all that he managed to. Yet this is a most unusually good screen play. Although the dialogue has a continuous sheen of entertainment slickness it is also notably well-differentiated, efficient, free of tricks of snap and punch and overdesign, and modest in its feeling for how much weight it should carry on the screen; and most of the time there is an openness about the writing which I don't doubt every good screen writer tries for but which few achieve. By openness I mean simply that the scenes are so planned, and the lines so laid down, that every action and reaction, every motion and everything that is seen, is more centrally eloquent than the spoken lines. The movie thus has and takes its chance to be born in front of the camera, whereas the general run of screen plays force what takes place before the camera to be a mere redigestion of a predigestion.

With a director and camera man in charge so gifted as Messrs. Wyler and Toland it is impossible to guess which of them, or Mr. Sherwood, is most to be thanked for the great force, simplicity, and beauty of some of the scenes and countless of the camera set-ups; so it is purely my hunch, with apologies in advance, that the real heroes in this film are Wyler and Toland, with invaluable assists credited to the set designer and art director, who provide some of the

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best stages for the action that I have ever seen in a movie. I can't think of a single shot of Toland's that doesn't show the amount of will, creative energy, and taste, and doesn't add with perfect power and modesty its own special kind of expressiveness, which of course ought to be evident in every shot in every good movie, and which of course plenty of people try for without more than spasmodically achieving. I can't remember a more thoroughly satisfying job of photography, in an American movie, since "Greed." Aesthetically and in its emotional feeling for people and their surroundings, Toland's work in this film makes me think of the photographs of Walker Evans. Toland either lacks or subsumes any equivalent intellect, irony, and delight in the varieties of texture, edge, meaning, mystery, and shape in clothing and in all inanimate things; but it is a question how much such powers of perception could be used in telling a story in motion.

William Wyler has always seemed to me an exceedingly sincere and good director; he now seems one of the few great ones. He has come back from the war with a style of great purity, directness, and warmth, about as cleanly devoid of mannerism, haste, superfluous motion, aesthetic or emotional overreaching, as any I know; and I felt complete confidence, as I watched this work, that he could have handled any degree to which this material might have been matured as well as or even better than the job he was given to do. His direction of the non-professional, Harold Russell, is just an exciting proof, on the side, of the marvels a really good artist can perform in collaboration with a really good non-actor; much more of the time it was his job to get new and better things out of professionals than they had ever shown before. One conspicuous failure —good as it is in its regrettable way—is March in his drunk scenes; and Myrna Loy, as his wife, is surprisingly uneven. But March is far outside his normal habits, and very good indeed, in, for instance, his interview with Dana Andrews over the question of the March daughter. And such a scene as that in which the sailor's father helps him get ready for bed seems to me so quietly perfect that I would set it in the world with the best fiction, or poetic drama, or movies that I know.

Almost without exception, down through such virtually noiseless bit roles as that of the mother of the sailor's fiancee, this film is so well cast and acted that there is no possible room to speak of

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all the people I wish I might. I cannot, however, resist speaking briefly, anyhow, of Teresa Wright. Like Frances Dee, she has always been one of the very few women in movies who really had a face. Like Miss Dee, she has also always used this translucent face with delicate and exciting talent as an actress, and with something of a novelist's perceptiveness behind the talent. And like Miss Dee, she has never been around nearly enough. This new performance of hers, entirely lacking in big scenes, tricks, or obstreperousness—one can hardly think of it as acting—seems to me one of the wisest and most beautiful pieces of work I have seen in years. If the picture had none of the hundreds of other things it has to recommend it, I could watch it a dozen times over for that personality and its mastery alone.

I can hardly expect that anyone who reads this will like the film as well as I do. It is easy, and true, to say that it suggests the limitations which will be inevitable in any Hollywood film, no matter how skilful and sincere. But it is also a great pleasure, and equally true, to say that it shows what can be done in the factory by people of adequate talent when they get, or manage to make themselves, the chance.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HERE is a pre-Christmas list of important works—well-performed and recorded, in my opinion, except as otherwise noted—that have been issued during the past year:

Bach: Concerto in D minor; Istomin and Busch Chamber Players (undistinguished performance, poorly recorded); C Set 624, $3.85. "Brandenburg" Concertos Nos. 3 and 4; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (ponderous performance and recording); V Set 1050, $4.85. Sonata in E for violin and harpsichord; Menuhin and Landowska (gigantesque and coarse-toned performance); V Set 1035, $3.85. "Goldberg" Variations for harpsichord; Landowska (overblown, distorted performance); V Set 1022, $6.85. Passacaglia and Fugue and lesser works for organ; Biggs (recorded sound occasionally blurred); V Set 1048, $4.85.

Beethoven: "Coriolan" Overture; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (recorded sound on first side poor); V 11-9023, $1. "Leonore" No. 3 and "Prometheus" Overtures; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set SP-2, $2.25. *Abscheulicher! wo eilst du hin?* from "Fidelio"; Bampton with Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (recorded sound poorer on second side); V 11-9110, $1. Piano Concerto No. 1; Dorfman with Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (characterless playing by Dorfman); V Set 1036, $4.85. Piano Concerto No. 3; Rubinstein with Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (Chopinesque playing by Rubinstein; poor recording); V Set 1016, $4.85. Quintet Opus 29; Budapest Quartet and Katims (poorly recorded); C Set 623, $4.85. Sonata Opus 102 No. 2 for cello and piano; Piatigorsky and Berkowitz (second half ineffectively played; piano poorly recorded); C Set X-258, $2.85. Symphony No. 2; Reiner and Pittsburgh Symphony (performance a little explosive); C Set 597, $4.85. Symphony No. 6 ("Pastoral"); Stokowski and New York City Symphony (poor performance); V Set 1032, $5.85.

Bellini: Casta diva from "Norma"; Milanov (superb style, but clouded by tremolo and not securely on pitch); V 11-9293, $1.

Berlioz: Fantastic Symphony; Monteux and San Francisco Symphony; V Set 994, $6.85. "Roman Carnival" Overture; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony; V 11-9008, $1.

Chopin: Gimpel's performances in Vox Set 604, $3.93, are preferable in style to Horowitz's in V Set 1034, $3.85.

Copland: "Appalachian Spring"; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony; V Set 1046, $4.

Debussy: Preludes, Vol. 1; Schmitz (bad performances, poorly recorded); V Set 1031, $6.

Franck: Symphony; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (poor performance and recording); C Set 608, $5.85.

Handel: Siciliana, and Purcell's "I Attempt from Love's Sickness to Fly"; Thebom; V 10-1178, $.75. Concerto in D; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (inflated performance); 12280-D, $1.

Haydn: Symphony No. 98; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set 1025, $4.85. Symphony No. 97; Beecham and London Philharmonic; V Set 1059, $3.85. "My Mother Bids Me Bind My Hair" and "She Never Told Her Love"; Marian Anderson (not well sung); V 10-9010, $.75.

Mahler: Symphony No. 4; Walter and

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New York Philharmonic-Symphony; C Set 589, $6.85. Four of "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen"; Carol Brice with Reiner and Pittsburgh Symphony (singing uneven); C Set X-267, $2.85.

Mozart: Quintet K. 515; Budapest Quartet and Katims (recording uneven); C Set 586, $4.85. Violin Concerto K. 219; Busch and Chamber Players (performance better in style than in sound; recording brash); C Set 609, $4.85. Concerto K. 363 for two pianos; Vronsky and Babin with Mitropoulos and Robin Hood Dell Orchestra (poor performance and recording); C Set 628, $3.85. Overture to "The Seraglio"; Beecham and London Philharmonic; V 11-9191, $1. *L'amerò, sarò costante* from "Il Re Pastore"; Pons with orchestra under Walter (Piastro's violin obbligato offensive; recording dull on first side); C 71696-D, $1.

Prokofiev: "Scythian" Suite; Defauw and Chicago Symphony (recording blurred); V Set 1040, $3.85. Quartet Opus 92; Gordon Quartet; Concert Hall Society, by subscription.

Respighi: Suite, "The Birds"; Defauw and Chicago Symphony; V Set SP-14, $2.25.

Rossini: Overtures; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (recording uneven); V Set DV-2 (vinylite), $8.85 (also available on shellac at $4.85).

Schubert: Six songs from "Die Winterreise"; Lehmann and Ulanowsky (flawed performances and recording); C Set 587, $3. Nineteen songs from "Die schöne Müllerin"; Lehmann and Ulanowsky (all but last five poorly sung and recorded); C Set 615, $7.85. "Unfinished" Symphony Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (performance uneven); V Set 1039, $3.85.

Schumann: Symphony No. 1; Leinsdorf and Cleveland Orchestra (poor performance; dull recording); C Set 617, $4.85. "Stille Tränen" and "Der Nussbaum"; Marian Anderson (singing uneven; Rupp's accompaniments superb); V 11-9173, $1.

Strauss: Four songs; Lehmann and Ulanowsky; C Set X-270, $2.25.

Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 5; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (bad performance); V Set 1057, $6.85. "Swan Lake"; Golschmann and St. Louis Symphony; V Set 1028, $6.10. "Nutcracker" Suite; Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic-Symphony; (concluding waltz poorly played; surfaces noisy); C Set 627, $3.85.

Verdi: Overture to "La Forza del Destino"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V 11-9010, $1. *Questa o quella* from "Rigoletto"; Björling; V 10-1200, $.75. *Dite alla giovine* from "La Traviata"; Albanese and Merrill; V 11-9175, $1. *Eri tu* from "Un Ballo in Maschera"; Warren; V 11-9292, $1. *Ma se m'è forza perderti* from "Un Ballo in Maschera"; Peerce; V 11-9295, $1.

Wagner: Two monologues of Sachs from "Die Meistersinger"; Janssen; C Set G-269, $2.85. Act 1, Scene 3 of "Die Walküre"; Traubel, Darcy, Rodzinski, New York Philharmonic-Symphony (poorly sung); C Set 618, $3.85. "Siegfried Idyll"; Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (not well-performed; imperfectly recorded); C Set X-265, $3.85. Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin"; Traubel with Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (uneven singing); C 12321-D, $1. Bridal Chamber Duet from "Lohengrin"; Traubel, Baum, Rodzinski, New York Philharmonic (poorly sung by Traubel); C Set X-261, $2.85.

Weber: Overture to "Der Freischütz"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V 11-9172, $1.

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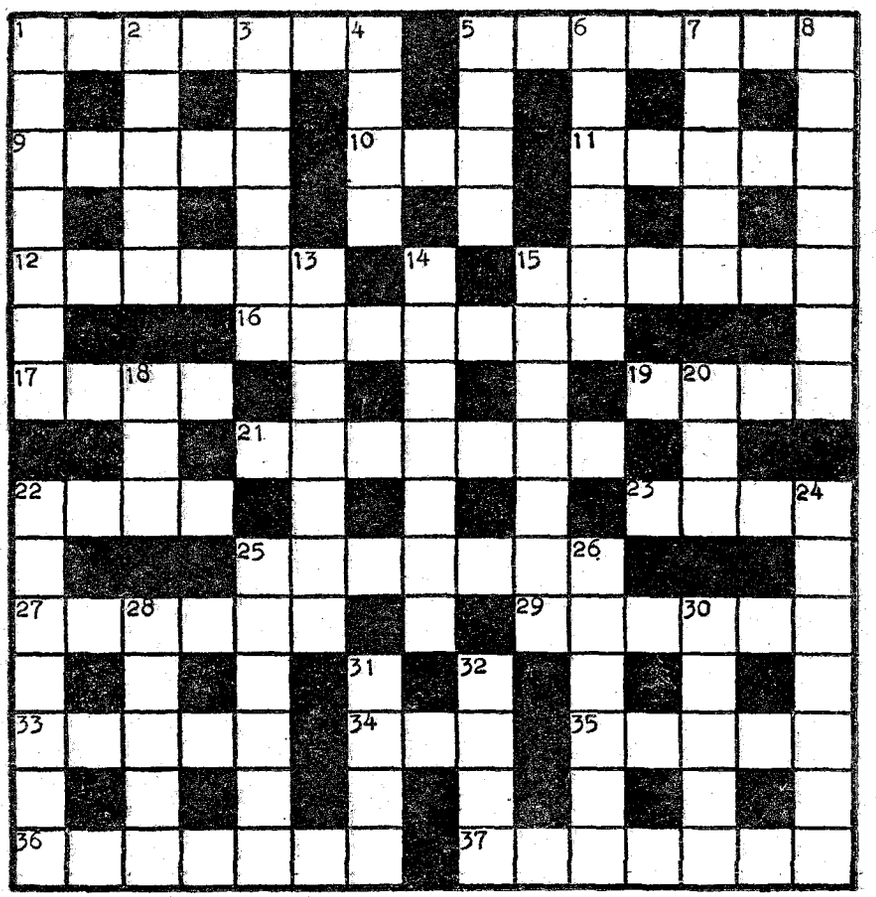

ACROSS

1 Educate chiefly in the use of the telephone (5 and 2)
5 May be ferreted out
9 It didn't crack despite rough Japanese handling
10 "As the old hermit of Prague, that never saw pen and - - -, very wittily said to a niece of King Gorboduc, That that is, is"
11 Indian capital
12 As much as an urn will hold
15 Hop it—it's a kid's game!
16 Overworked, he might describe himself as a galley slave (3-4)
17 "A Persian's heaven is easily made: 'Tis but black - - - - and lemonade"
19 The sound of wings
21 Simple Simon's direction?
22 Old convicts
23 They make themselves known by signs
25 Hardened
27 Hand in hand
29 Flat on your back
33 The American one is a hawk
34 Welsh river
35 Cut it out
36 Mowers with curved handles and curved blades
37 A man of letters

DOWN

1 It stands to reason
2 I am on something fiercer than the wooden horse
3 Not an English dictionary
4 Bucket with a lip
5 Every woman is one at heart, according to Pope
6 Decorate the deck between A and C?
7 There's a concealed stile in this ait
8 Hitler's making slips!
13 Runs away to dodge a debt
14 Made mock of
15 Consoles
18 Boiled by the vulgar and roasted by the learned (again Pope)
20 Don't call a female swan this!
22 Desks in the House of Keys?
24 An old-fashioned speak-easy
25 Let it be better than silence—or be silent
26 We see you in a frock which allows no freedom of movement
28 Heated
30 Most of this dialect comes from an idiot
31 Studies hard—they need to!
32 Bound to escape the rope

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 189

ACROSS:—1 COSSACK; 5 FOX CUBS; 9 PAVLOVA; 10 REALIZE; 11 LOSER; 12 ILL; 13 SMITH; 14 TAPLASH; 16 GUERDON; 18 MATADOR; 21 DUFFERS; 24 ALOOF; 26 FIG; 27 PERDU; 28 OLD SALT; 29 IMPOUND; 30 SENORAS; 31 HEATHER.

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